

THE
WORKS
OF
SIR WILLIAM JONES.
IN SIX VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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MDCCKCIX.

TO THE HONOURABLE
THE DIRECTORS OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY,
WHO HAVE HONOURED THE MEMORY
OF THE AUTHOR
WITH DISTINGUISHED MARKS OF RESPECT AND ESTEEM,
THESE VOLUMES
ARE GRATEFULLY DEDICATED
BY THE EDITOR.

“ He was a pearl too pure on earth to dwell,
“ And waste his splendor in this mortal shell.”

From the Arabick, Vol. II. p. 520.

PREFACE.

“ THE best monument that can be erected to a man
“ of literary talents, is a good edition of his works.”

Such was the opinion of Sir William Jones. Intrusted with his Manuscripts, the Editor has therefore long regarded it as a sacred duty to publish the volumes now offered to the world. Various circumstances have delayed the publication; but she trusts to the indulgence of the feeling, and the candid, when they consider the difficulty of collecting papers so widely dispersed; and also those habits of inactivity, and indecision, which affliction imposes on a mind that has been deeply wounded.

The

PREFACE.

The Editor reserves to herself the liberty of giving, at a future period, any posthumous papers, or biographical anecdotes, of a character, which she believes to be scarce less interesting to the publick, than dear to herself! The present collection consists of all the works printed during the Author's life, and of some others, which, though not corrected by him for the press, evidently appear to have been intended for publication. To these, the Editor thinks she may, with much propriety, prefix Sir John Shore's* admirable discourse, delivered before the Asiatick Society in Calcutta, in May, 1794; both as a mark of her respect for the writer, and because it gives the most accurate, and comprehensive account, yet extant, of Sir William Jones's enlarged views, and literary labours; and tends to illustrate a character already endeared to mankind, wherever Religion, Science, and Philosophy, prevail!

J. M.

* Lord Teignmouth.

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A

DISCOURSE
DELIVERED AT A MEETING OF THE
ASIATICK SOCIETY,
IN CALCUTTA,

ON THE
TWENTY-SECOND OF MAY, 1794.

BY THE HONOURABLE
SIR JOHN SHORE, BART*.
PRESIDENT.

* Since Lord TEIGNMOUTH.

A



DISCOURSE, &c.

GENTLEMEN,

IF I had consulted my competency only, for the station which your choice has conferred upon me, I must without hesitation have declined the honour of being the President of this Society; and although I most cheerfully accept your invitation, with every inclination to assist, as far as my abilities extend, in promoting the laudable views of your association, I must still retain the consciousness of those disqualifications, which you have been pleased to overlook.

It was lately our boast to possess a President, whose name, talents, and character, would have been honourable to any institution; it is now our misfortune to lament, that Sir William Jones exists, but in the affections of his friends, and in the esteem, veneration, and regret of all.

I cannot, I flatter myself, offer a more grateful tribute to the Society, than by making his character the subject of my first address to you ; and if in the delineation of it, fondness or affection for the man should appear blended with my reverence for his genius and abilities, in the sympathy of your feelings I shall find my apology.

To define with accuracy the variety, value, and extent of his literary attainments, requires more learning than I pretend to possess, and I am therefore to solicit your indulgence for an imperfect sketch, rather than expect your approbation for a complete description of the talents, and knowledge, of your late and lamented President.

I shall begin with mentioning his wonderful capacity for the acquisition of languages, which has never been excelled. In *Greek* and *Roman* literature, his early proficiency was the subject of admiration and applause ; and knowledge, of whatever nature, once obtained by him, was ever afterwards progressive. The more elegant dialects of modern *Europe*, the *French*, the *Spanish*, and the *Italian*, he spoke and wrote with the greatest fluency and precision ; and the *German* and *Portuguese* were familiar to him. At an early period of life his application to Oriental literature commenced ; he studied the *Hebrew* with ease and success, and many of the most learned *Asiatics* have the candour to avow, that his knowledge of *Arabick* and *Persian* was as accurate and extensive as their own ; he was also conversant in the *Turkish* idiom, and the *Chinese* had even attracted his notice, so far as to induce him to learn the radical characters of that language, with a view perhaps to farther improvements. It was to be expected, after his arrival in *India*, that he would eagerly embrace the opportunity of making himself master of the *Sanscrit* ; and the most enlightened professors of the doctrines of BRAHMA confess with pride, delight, and surprise, that his knowledge of their sacred dialect was most critically correct and profound. The *Pandits*,
who

who were in the habit of attending him, when I saw them after his death, at a public *Durbar*, could neither suppress their tears for his loss, nor find terms to express their admiration at the wonderful progress he had made in their sciences.

Before the expiration of his twenty-second year, he had completed his Commentaries on the Poetry of the *Asiatics*, although a considerable time afterwards elapsed before their publication; and this work, if no other monument of his labours existed, would at once furnish proofs of his consummate skill in the Oriental dialects, of his proficiency in those of *Rome* and *Greece*, of taste and erudition far beyond his years, and of talents and application without example.

But the judgement of Sir William Jones was too discerning to consider language in any other light than as the key of science, and he would have despised the reputation of a mere linguist. Knowledge and truth, were the object of all his studies, and his ambition was to be useful to mankind; with these views, he extended his researches to all languages, nations, and times.

Such were the motives that induced him to propose to the Government of this country, what he justly denominated a work of national utility and importance, the compilation of a copious digest of *Hindu* and *Mahomedan* Law, from *Sanscrit* and *Arabick* originals, with an offer of his services to superintend the compilation, and with a promise to translate it. He had foreseen, previous to his departure from *Europe*, that without the aid of such a work, the wise and benevolent intentions of the legislature of *Great Britain*, in leaving, to a certain extent, the natives of these provinces in possession of their own laws, could not be completely fulfilled; and his experience, after a short residence in India, confirmed what his sagacity had anticipated, that without principles

ciples to refer to, in a language familiar to the judges of the courts, adjudications amongst the natives must too often be subject to an uncertain and erroneous exposition, or wilful misinterpretation of their laws.

To the superintendence of this work, which was immediately undertaken at his suggestion, he assiduously devoted those hours which he could spare from his professional duties. After tracing the plan of the digest, he prescribed its arrangement and mode of execution, and selected from the most learned *Hindus* and *Mahomedans* fit persons for the task of compiling it; flattered by his attention, and encouraged by his applause, the *Pandits* prosecuted their labours with cheerful zeal, to a satisfactory conclusion. The *Molavees* have also nearly finished their portion of the work, but we must ever regret, that the promised translation, as well as the meditated preliminary dissertation, have been frustrated by that decree, which so often intercepts the performance of human purposes.

During the course of this compilation, and as auxiliary to it, he was led to study the works of MÈNU, reputed by the *Hindus* to be the oldest, and holiest of legislatures; and finding them to comprize a system of religious and civil duties, and of law in all its branches, so comprehensive and minutely exact, that it might be considered as the Institutes of *Hindu* law, he presented a translation of them to the Government of *Bengal*. During the same period, deeming no labour excessive or superfluous that tended, in any respect, to promote the welfare or happiness of mankind, he gave the public an *English* version of the *Arabick* text of the SIRAJIYAH, or *Mahomedan* Law of Inheritance, with a Commentary. He had already published in *England*, a translation of a Tract on the same subject, by another *Mahomedan* Lawyer, containing, as his own words express, “a lively and elegant epitome of the law of Inheritance, according to ZAID.”

To

To these learned and important works, so far out of the road of amusement, nothing could have engaged his application, but that desire which he ever professed, of rendering his knowledge useful to his nation, and beneficial to the inhabitants of these provinces.

Without attending to the chronological order of their publication, I shall briefly recapitulate his other performances in *Asiatick Literature*, as far as my knowledge and recollection of them extend.

The vanity and petulance of ANQUETIL DU PERRON, with his illiberal reflections on some of the learned members of the University of *Oxford*, extorted from him a letter, in the *French* language, which has been admired for accurate criticism, just satire, and elegant composition. A regard for the literary reputation of his country, induced him to translate, from a *Persian* original into *French*, the life of NADIR SHAH, that it might not be carried out of England, with a reflection, that no person had been found in the British dominions capable of translating it. The students of *Persian* literature must ever be grateful to him, for a grammar of that language, in which he has shown the possibility of combining taste, and elegance, with the precision of a grammarian; and every admirer of *Arabick* poetry, must acknowledge his obligations to him, for an *English* version of the seven celebrated poems, so well known by the name of *Moallakat*, from the distinction to which their excellence had entitled them, of being suspended in the temple of *Mecca*: I should scarcely think it of importance to mention, that he did not disdain the office of Editor of a *Sanscrit* and *Persian* work, if it did not afford me an opportunity of adding, that the latter was published at his own expence, and was sold for the benefit of insolvent debtors. A similar application was made of the produce of the SIRAJIYAH.

Of his lighter productions, the elegant amusements of his leisure hours, comprehending hymns on the *Hindu* mythology, poems consisting chiefly of translations from the *Asiatick* languages, and the version of *SACONTALA*, an ancient *Indian* drama, it would be unbecoming to speak in a style of importance which he did not himself annex to them. They show the activity of a vigorous mind, its fertility, its genius, and its taste. Nor shall I particularly dwell on the discourses addressed to this Society, which we have all perused or heard, or on the other learned and interesting dissertations, which form so large, and valuable a portion of the records of our Researches ; let us lament, that the spirit which dictated them is to us extinct, and that the voice to which we listened with improvement, and rapture, will be heard by us no more.

But I cannot pass over a paper, which has fallen into my possession since his demise, in the hand-writing of Sir William Jones himself, entitled *DESIDERATA*, as more explanatory than any thing I can say, of the comprehensive views of his enlightened mind. It contains, as a perusal of it will show, whatever is most curious, important, and attainable in the sciences and histories of *India*, *Arabia*, *China*, and *Tartary* ; subjects, which he had already most amply discussed in the disquisitions which he laid before the Society.

DESIDERATA.

INDIA.

- 1.—The Ancient Geography of India, &c. from the Puranas.
- 2.—A Botanical Description of Indian Plants, from the *Coshas*, &c.
- 3.—A Grammar of the Sanscrit Language, from Panini, &c.
- 4.—A Dictionary of the Sanscrit Language, from thirty-two original Vocabularies and *Nirukti*.

- 5.—On the Ancient Music of the Indians.
- 6.—On the Medical Substances of India, and the Indian Art of Medicine.
- 7.—On the Philosophy of the Ancient Indians.
- 8.—A Translation of the Veda.
- 9.—On Ancient Indian Geometry, Astronomy, and Algebra.
- 10.—A Translation of the Puranas.
- 11.—A Translation of the Mahabbarat and Ramayan.
- 12.—On the Indian Theatre, &c. &c. &c.
- 13.—On the Indian Constellations, with their Mythology, from the Puranas.
- 14.—The History of India before the Mahommedan conquest, from the Sanscrit-Cashmir Histories.

ARABIA.

- 15.—The History of Arabia before Mahommed.
- 16.—A Translation of the Hamasa.
- 17.—A Translation of Hariri.
- 18.—A Translation of the Facahatul Khulafa.
Of the Califah.

PERSIA.

- 19.—The History of Persia from Authorities in Sanscrit, Arabick, Greek, Turkish, Persian, ancient and modern.
Firdausi's Khosrau nama.
- 20.—The five Poems of Nizami, translated in prose.
A Dictionary of pure Persian. Jehangire.

CHINA.

- 21.—A Translation of the Shi-king.
- 22.—The text of Can-fu-tsu verbally translated.

TARTARY.

23.—A History of the Tartar Nations, chiefly of the Moguls and Othmans, from the Turkish and Persian.

WE are not authoris'd to conclude, that he had himself formed a determination to complete the works which his genius and knowledge had thus sketched ; the task seems to require a period, beyond the probable duration of any human life ; but we, who had the happiness to know Sir William Jones, who were witnesses of his indefatigable perseverance in the pursuit of knowledge, and of his ardour to accomplish whatever he deemed important ; who saw the extent of his intellectual powers, his wonderful attainments in literature and science, and the facility with which all his compositions were made, cannot doubt, if it had pleas'd Providence to protract the date of his existence, that he would have ably executed much, of what he had so extensively planned.

I have hitherto principally confin'd my discourse to the pursuits of our late President in Oriental literature, which, from their extent, might appear to have occupi'd all his time ; but they neither preclud'd his attention to professional studies, nor to science in general : amongst his publications in *Europe*, in polite literature, exclusive of various compositions in prose and verse, I find a translation of the speeches of *Isæus*, with a learned comment ; and, in law, an Essay on the Law of Bailments : upon the subject of this last work, I cannot deny myself the gratification of quoting the sentiments of a celebrated historian : “ Sir William Jones has given an ingenious and rational essay on the law of Bailments. He is perhaps the only lawyer equally conversant with
“ the

“ the year books of *Westminster*, the commentaries of *ULPIAN*, the
 “ Attic pleadings of *ISÆUS*, and the sentences of *Arabian* and *Persian*
 “ *Cadhis*.”

His professional studies did not commence before his twenty-second year, and I have his own authority for asserting, that the first book of *English* jurisprudence which he ever studied, was *FORTESCUE*'s essay in praise of the laws of *England*.

Of the ability and conscientious integrity, with which he discharged the functions of a Magistrate, and the duties of a Judge of the Supreme Court of Judicature in this settlement, the public voice and public regret bear ample and merited testimony. The same penetration which marked his scientific researches, distinguished his legal investigations and decisions ; and he deemed no inquiries burthenfome, which had for their object substantial justice under the rules of law.

His addresses to the jurors, are not less distinguished for philanthropy, and liberality of sentiment, than for just expositions of the law, perspicuity, and elegance of diction ; and his oratory was as captivating as his arguments were convincing.

In an epilogue to his commentaries on *Asiatick* poetry, he bids farewell to polite literature, without relinquishing his affection for it ; and concludes with an intimation of his intention to study law, expressed in a wish, which we now know to have been prophetic.

Mihi sit, oro, non inutilis toga,
 Nec indiferta lingua, nec turpis manus !

I have already enumerated attainments and works, which, from their diversity and extent, seem far beyond the capacity of the most enlarged minds; but the catalogue may yet be augmented. To a proficiency in the languages of *Greece, Rome, and Asia*, he added the knowledge of the philosophy of those countries, and of every thing curious and valuable that had been taught in them. The doctrines of the *Academy*, the *Lyceum*, or the *Portico*, were not more familiar to him than the tenets of the *Vedas*, the mysticism of the *Sufis*, or the religion of the ancient *Persians*; and whilst with a kindred genius he perused with rapture the heroic, lyric, or moral compositions, of the most renowned poets of *Greece, Rome, and Asia*, he could turn with equal delight and knowledge, to the sublime speculations, or mathematical calculations, of *BARROW* and *NEWTON*. With them also, he professed his conviction of the truth of the *Christian* religion, and he justly deemed it no inconsiderable advantage, that his researches had corroborated the multiplied evidence of revelation, by confirming the *Mosaic* account of the primitive world. We all recollect, and can refer to, the following sentiments in his eighth anniversary discourse.

“ Theological inquiries are no part of my present subject; but I cannot refrain from adding, that the collection of tracts, which we call from their excellence the Scriptures, contain, independently of a divine origin, more true sublimity, more exquisite beauty, purer morality, more important history, and finer strains both of poetry and eloquence, than could be collected within the same compass from all other books, that were ever composed in any age, or in any idiom. The two parts, of which the Scriptures consist, are connected by a chain of compositions, which bear no resemblance in form or style to any that can be produced from the stores of *Grecian, Indian, Persian*, or even *Arabian* learning; the antiquity of those compositions no
“ man

“ man doubts, and the unstrained application of them to events long
 “ subsequent to their publication, is a solid ground of belief, that they
 “ were genuine predictions, and consequently inspired.”

There were in truth few sciences, in which he had not acquired considerable proficiency ; in most, his knowledge was profound. The theory of music was familiar to him ; nor had he neglected to make himself acquainted with the interesting discoveries lately made in chemistry ; and I have heard him assert, that his admiration of the structure of the human frame, had induced him to attend for a season to a course of anatomical lectures delivered by his friend, the celebrated HUNTER.

His last and favourite pursuit, was the study of *Botany*, which he originally began under the confinement of a severe and lingering disorder, which with most minds, would have proved a disqualification from any application. It constituted the principal amusement of his leisure hours. In the arrangements of LINNÆUS he discovered system, truth, and science, which never failed to captivate and engage his attention ; and from the proofs which he has exhibited of his progress in *Botany*, we may conclude that he would have extended the discoveries in that science. The last composition which he read in this Society, was a description of select *Indian* plants, and I hope his Executors will allow us to fulfil his intention of publishing it, as a number in our *Researches*.

It cannot be deemed useless or superfluous to inquire, by what arts or method he was enabled to attain to a degree of knowledge almost universal, and apparently beyond the powers of man, during a life little exceeding forty-seven years.

The faculties of his mind, by nature vigorous, were improved by constant exercise; and his memory, by habitual practice, had acquired a capacity of retaining whatever had once been impressed upon it. To an unextinguished ardour for universal knowledge, he joined a perseverance in the pursuit of it, which subdued all obstacles; his studies began with the dawn, and during the intermissions of professional duties, were continued throughout the day; reflection and meditation strengthened and confirmed what industry and investigation had accumulated. It was a fixed principle with him, from which he never voluntarily deviated, not to be deterred by any difficulties that were surmountable, from prosecuting to a successful termination, what he had once deliberately undertaken.

But what appears to me more particularly to have enabled him to employ his talents so much to his own and the public advantage, was the regular allotment of his time to particular occupations, and a scrupulous adherence to the distribution which he had fixed; hence, all his studies were pursued without interruption or confusion: nor can I here omit remarking, what may probably have attracted your observation as well as mine, the candour and complacency with which he gave his attention to all persons, of whatsoever quality, talents, or education; he justly concluded, that curious or important information, might be gained even from the illiterate; and wherever it was to be obtained, he sought and seized it.

Of the private and social virtues of our lamented President, our hearts are the best records; to you, who knew him, it cannot be necessary for me to expatiate on the independance of his integrity, his humanity, probity, or benevolence, which every living creature participated; on the affability of his conversation and manners, or his modest unassuming deportment: nor need I remark, that he was

totally

totally free from pedantry, as well as from arrogance and self-sufficiency, which sometimes accompany and disgrace the greatest abilities; his presence was the delight of every society, which his conversation exhilarated and improved; and the public have not only to lament the loss of his talents and abilities, but that of his example.

To him, as the founder of our Institution, and whilst he lived, its firmest support, our reverence is more particularly due; instructed, animated, and encouraged by him, genius was called forth into exertion, and modest merit was excited to distinguish itself. Anxious for the reputation of the Society, he was indefatigable in his own endeavours to promote it, whilst he cheerfully assisted those of others. In losing him, we have not only been deprived of our brightest ornament, but of a guide and patron, on whose instructions, judgment, and candour, we could implicitly rely.

But it will, I trust, be long, very long, before the remembrance of his virtues, his genius, and abilities, lose that influence over the members of this Society, which his living example had maintained; and if previous to his demise he had been asked, by what posthumous honours or attentions we could best show our respect for his memory? I may venture to assert he would have replied, "By exerting yourselves to support the credit of the Society;" applying to it, perhaps, the dying wish of father PAUL, "esto perpetua!"

In this wish we must all concur, and with it, I close *this address to you.*

A
DISCOURSE
ON THE
INSTITUTION OF A SOCIETY,
FOR INQUIRING INTO THE
HISTORY, CIVIL AND NATURAL,
THE ANTIQUITIES, ARTS, SCIENCES, AND LITERATURE,
OF
A S I A.
BY THE PRESIDENT.

GENTLEMEN,

WHEN I was at sea last August, on my voyage to this country, which I had long and ardently desired to visit, I found one evening, on inspecting the observations of the day, that *India* lay before us, and *Persia* on our left, whilst a breeze from *Arabia* blew nearly on our stern. A situation so pleasing in itself, and to me so new, could not fail to awaken a train of reflections in a mind, which had early been accustomed to contemplate with delight the eventful histories and agreeable fictions of this eastern world. It gave me inexpressible plea-

sure to find myself in the midst of so noble an amphitheatre, almost encircled by the vast regions of *Asia*, which has ever been esteemed the nurse of sciences, the inventress of delightful and useful arts, the scene of glorious actions, fertile in the productions of human genius, abounding in natural wonders, and infinitely diversified in the forms of religion and government, in the laws, manners, customs, and languages, as well as in the features and complexions, of men. I could not help remarking, how important and extensive a field was yet unexplored, and how many solid advantages unimproved; and when I considered, with pain, that, in this fluctuating, imperfect, and limited condition of life, such inquiries and improvements could only be made by the united efforts of many, who are not easily brought, without some pressing inducement or strong impulse, to converge in a common point, I consoled myself with a hope, founded on opinions which it might have the appearance of flattery to mention, that, if in any country or community, such an union could be effected, it was among my countrymen in *Bengal*, with some of whom I already had, and with most was desirous of having, the pleasure of being intimately acquainted.

You have realized that hope, gentlemen, and even anticipated a declaration of my wishes, by your alacrity in laying the foundation of a society for inquiring into the history and antiquities, the natural productions, arts, sciences, and literature of *Asia*. I may confidently foretel, that an institution so likely to afford entertainment, and convey knowledge, to mankind, will advance to maturity by slow, yet certain, degrees; as the Royal Society, which at first was only a meeting of a few literary friends at *Oxford*, rose gradually to that splendid zenith, at which a *Halley* was their secretary, and a *Newton* their president.

Although

Although it is my humble opinion, that, in order to ensure our success and permanence, we must keep a middle course between a languid remissness, and an over zealous activity, and that the tree, which you have auspiciously planted, will produce fairer blossoms, and more exquisite fruit, if it be not at first exposed to too great a glare of sunshine, yet I take the liberty of submitting to your consideration a few general ideas on the plan of our society; assuring you, that, whether you reject or approve them, your correction will give me both pleasure and instruction, as your flattering attentions have already conferred on me the highest honour.

It is your design, I conceive, to take an ample space for your learned investigations, bounding them only by the geographical limits of *Asia*; so that, considering *Hindustan* as a centre, and turning your eyes in idea to the North, you have on your right, many important kingdoms in the Eastern peninsula, the ancient and wonderful empire of *China* with all her *Tartarian* dependencies, and that of *Japan*, with the cluster of precious islands, in which many singular curiosities have too long been concealed: before you lies that prodigious chain of mountains, which formerly perhaps were a barrier against the violence of the sea, and beyond them the very interesting country of *Tibet*, and the vast regions of *Tartary*, from which, as from the *Trojan* horse of the poets, have issued so many consummate warriors, whose domain has extended at least from the banks of the *Ilissus* to the mouths of the *Ganges*: on your left are the beautiful and celebrated provinces of *Iran* or *Persia*, the unmeasured, and perhaps unmeasurable deserts of *Arabia*, and the once flourishing kingdom of *Yemen*, with the pleasant isles that the *Arabs* have subdued or colonized; and farther westward, the *Asiatick* dominions of the *Turkish* sultans, whose moon seems approaching rapidly to its wane.—By this great circumference, the field of your useful researches will be inclosed; but, since *Egypt* had unquestionably

an old connexion with this country, if not with *China*, since the language and literature of the *Abyssinians* bear a manifest affinity to those of *Asia*, since the *Arabian* arms prevailed along the *African* coast of the *Mediterranean*, and even erected a powerful dynasty on the continent of *Europe*, you may not be displeased occasionally to follow the streams of *Asiatick* learning a little beyond its natural boundary ; and, if it be necessary or convenient, that a short name or epithet be given to our society, in order to distinguish it in the world, that of *Asiatick* appears both classical and proper, whether we consider the place or the object of the institution, and preferable to *Oriental*, which is in truth a word merely relative, and, though commonly used in *Europe*, conveys no very distinct idea.

If now it be asked, what are the intended objects of our inquiries within these spacious limits, we answer, MAN and NATURE ; whatever is performed by the one, or produced by the other. Human knowledge has been elegantly analysed according to the three great faculties of the mind, *memory*, *reason*, and *imagination*, which we constantly find employed in arranging and retaining, comparing and distinguishing, combining and diversifying, the ideas, which we receive through our senses, or acquire by reflection ; hence the three main branches of learning are *history*, *science*, and *art* : the first comprehends either an account of natural productions, or the genuine records of empires and states ; the second embraces the whole circle of pure and mixed mathematicks, together with ethicks and law, as far as they depend on the reasoning faculty ; and the third includes all the beauties of imagery and the charms of invention, displayed in modulated language, or represented by colour, figure, or sound.

Agreeably to this analysis, you will investigate whatever is rare in the stupendous fabrick of nature, will correct the geography of *Asia*
by

by new observations and discoveries; will trace the annals, and even traditions, of those nations, who from time to time have peopled or desolated it; and will bring to light their various forms of government, with their institutions civil and religious; you will examine their improvements and methods in arithmetick and geometry, in trigonometry, mensuration, mechanicks, opticks, astronomy, and general physicks; their systems of morality, grammar, rhetorick, and dialectick; their skill in chirurgery and medicine, and their advancement, whatever it may be, in anatomy and chymistry. To this you will add researches into their agriculture, manufactures, trade; and, whilst you inquire with pleasure into their musick, architecture, painting, and poetry, will not neglect those inferiour arts, by which the comforts and even elegances of social life are supplied or improved. You may observe, that I have omitted their languages, the diversity and difficulty of which are a sad obstacle to the progress of useful knowledge; but I have ever considered languages as the mere instruments of real learning, and think them improperly confounded with learning itself: the attainment of them is, however, indispensably necessary; and if to the *Persian, Armenian, Turkish, and Arabick*, could be added not only the *Sanscrit*, the treasures of which we may now hope to see unlocked, but even the *Chinese, Tartarian, Japanese*, and the various insular dialects, an immense mine would then be open, in which we might labour with equal delight and advantage.

Having submitted to you these imperfect thoughts on the *limits* and *objects* of our future society, I request your permission to add a few hints on the *conduct* of it in its present immature state.

LUCIAN begins one of his satirical pieces against historians, with declaring that the only true proposition in his work was, that it should contain nothing true; and perhaps it may be advisable at first, in
order

order to prevent any difference of sentiment on particular points not immediately before us, to establish but one rule, namely, to have no rules at all. This only I mean, that, in the infancy of any society, there ought to be no confinement, no trouble, no expense, no unnecessary formality. Let us, if you please, for the present, have weekly evening meetings in this hall, for the purpose of hearing original papers read on such subjects, as fall within the circle of our inquiries. Let all curious and learned men be invited to send their tracts to our secretary, for which they ought immediately to receive our thanks; and if, towards the end of each year, we should be supplied with a sufficiency of valuable materials to fill a volume, let us present our *Asiatick* miscellany to the literary world, who have derived so much pleasure and information from the agreeable work of *Kämpfer*, than which we can scarce propose a better model, that they will accept with eagerness any fresh entertainment of the same kind. You will not perhaps be disposed to admit mere translations of considerable length, except of such unpublished essays or treatises as may be transmitted to us by native authors; but, whether you will enrol as members any number of learned natives, you will hereafter decide, with many other questions as they happen to arise; and you will think, I presume, that all questions should be decided on a ballot, by a majority of two thirds, and that nine members should be requisite to constitute a board for such decisions. These points, however, and all others I submit entirely, gentlemen, to your determination, having neither wish nor pretension to claim any more than my single right of suffrage. One thing only, as essential to your dignity, I recommend with earnestness, on no account to admit a new member, who has not expressed a voluntary desire to become so; and in that case, you will not require, I suppose, any other qualification than a love of knowledge, and a zeal for the promotion of it.

Your

Your institution, I am persuaded, will ripen of itself, and your meetings will be amply supplied with interesting and amusing papers, as soon as the object of your inquiries shall be generally known. There are, it may not be delicate to name them, but there are many, from whose important studies I cannot but conceive high expectations; and, as far as mere labour will avail, I sincerely promise, that, if in my allotted sphere of jurisprudence, or in any intellectual excursion, that I may have leisure to make, I should be so fortunate as to collect, by accident, either fruits or flowers, which may seem valuable or pleasing, I shall offer my humble *Nezr* to your society with as much respectful zeal as to the greatest potentate on earth.

THE SECOND
ANNIVERSARY DISCOURSE,

DELIVERED 24 FEBRUARY, 1785.

BY

THE PRESIDENT.

GENTLEMEN,

IF the Deity of the *Hindus*, by whom all their just requests are believed to be granted with singular indulgence, had proposed last year to gratify my warmest wishes, I could have desired nothing more ardently than the success of your institution; because I can desire nothing in preference to the general good, which your plan seems calculated to promote, by bringing to light many useful and interesting tracts, which, being too short for separate publication, might lie many years concealed, or, perhaps, irrecoverably perish: my wishes are accomplished, without an invocation to CA'MADHE'NU; and your Society, having already passed its infant state, is advancing to maturity with every mark of a healthy and robust constitution. When I reflect, indeed, on the variety of subjects, which have been discussed before you, concerning the history, laws, manners, arts, and antiquities of *Asia*, I am unable to decide whether my pleasure or my surprise be the

greater; for I will not dissemble, that your progress has far exceeded my expectations; and, though we must seriously deplore the loss of those excellent men, who have lately departed from this Capital, yet there is a prospect still of large contributions to your stock of *Asiatick* learning, which, I am persuaded, will continually increase. My late journey to *Benares* has enabled me to assure you, that many of your members, who reside at a distance, employ a part of their leisure in preparing additions to your archives; and, unless I am too sanguine, you will soon receive light from them on several topics entirely new in the republick of letters.

It was principally with a design to open sources of such information, that I long had meditated an expedition up the *Ganges* during the suspension of my business; but, although I had the satisfaction of visiting two ancient seats of *Hindu* superstition and literature, yet, illness having detained me a considerable time in the way, it was not in my power to continue in them long enough to pursue my inquiries; and I left them, as *ÆNEAS* is feigned to have left the shades, when his guide made him recollect *the swift flight of irrevocable time*, with a curiosity raised to the height, and a regret not easy to be described.

Whoever travels in *Asia*, especially if he be conversant with the literature of the countries through which he passes, must naturally remark the superiority of *European* talents: the observation, indeed, is at least as old as *ALEXANDER*; and, though we cannot agree with the sage preceptor of that ambitious Prince, that “the *Asiatics* are born to be slaves,” yet the *Athenian* poet seems perfectly in the right, when he represents *Europe* as a *sovereign Princess*, and *Asia* as *her Handmaid*: but, if the mistress be transcendently majestic, it cannot be denied that the attendant has many beauties, and some advantages peculiar to herself. The ancients were accustomed to pronounce *panegyrics* on
their

their own countrymen at the expence of all other nations, with a political view, perhaps, of stimulating them by praise, and exciting them to still greater exertions; but such arts are here unnecessary; nor would they, indeed, become a society, who seek nothing but truth unadorned by rhetoric; and, although we must be conscious of our superior advancement in all kinds of useful knowledge, yet we ought not therefore to condemn the people of *Asia*, from whose researches into nature, works of art, and inventions of fancy, many valuable hints may be derived for our own improvement and advantage. If that, indeed, were not the principal object of your institution, little else could arise from it but the mere gratification of curiosity; and I should not receive so much delight from the humble share, which you have allowed me to take, in promoting it.

To form an exact parallel between the works and actions of the Western and Eastern worlds, would require a tract of no inconsiderable length; but we may decide on the whole, that reason and taste are the grand prerogatives of *European* minds, while the *Asiatics* have soared to loftier heights in the sphere of imagination. The civil history of their vast empires, and of *India* in particular, must be highly interesting to our common country; but we have a still nearer interest in knowing all former modes of ruling *these inestimable provinces*, on the prosperity of which so much of our national welfare, and individual benefit, seems to depend. A minute *geographical* knowledge, not only of *Bengal* and *Babar*, but, for evident reasons, of *all the kingdoms bordering on them*, is closely connected with an account of their many revolutions: but the *natural* productions of these territories, especially in the *vegetable* and *mineral* systems, are momentous objects of research to an *imperial*, but, which is a character of equal dignity, a *commercial*, people.

If *Botany* may be described by metaphors drawn from the science itself, we may justly pronounce a minute acquaintance with *plants*, their *classes*, *orders*, *kinds*, and *species*, to be its *flowers*, which can only produce *fruit* by an application of that knowledge to the purposes of life, particularly to *diet*, by which diseases may be avoided, and to *medicine*, by which they may be remedied: for the improvement of the last mentioned art, than which none surely can be more beneficial to mankind, the virtues of *minerals* also should be accurately known. So highly has medical skill been prized by the ancient *Indians*, that one of the *fourteen Retna's*, or *precious things*, which their Gods are believed to have produced by churning the ocean with the mountain *Mandara*, was a *learned physician*. What their old books contain on this subject, we ought certainly to discover, and that without loss of time; lest the venerable but abstruse language, in which they are composed, should cease to be perfectly intelligible, even to the best educated natives, through a want of powerful invitation to study it. BERNIER, who was himself of the Faculty, mentions approved medical books in *Sanscrit*, and cites a few aphorisms, which appear judicious and rational; but we can expect nothing so important from the works of *Hindu* or *Muselman* physicians, as the knowledge, which experience must have given them, of *simple* medicines. I have seen an *Indian* prescription of *fifty-four*, and another of *sixty-six*, ingredients; but such compositions are always to be suspected, since the effect of one ingredient may destroy that of another; and it were better to find certain accounts of a single leaf or berry, than to be acquainted with the most elaborate compounds, unless they too have been proved by a multitude of successful experiments. The noble deobstruent oil, extracted from the *Eranda* nut, the whole family of *Balsams*, the incomparable stomachick root from *Columbo*, the fine astringent ridiculously called *Japan* earth, but in truth produced by the decoction of an *Indian* plant, have long been used in *Asia*; and who can foretel what glorious discoveries

coveries of other oils, roots, and salutary juices, may be made by your society? If it be doubtful whether the *Peruvian* bark be *always* efficacious in this country, its place may, perhaps, be supplied by some indigenous vegetable equally antiseptick, and more congenial to the climate. Whether any treatises on *Agriculture* have been written by experienced natives of these provinces, I am not yet informed; but since the court of *Spain* expect to find useful remarks in an *Arabick* tract preserved in the *Escurial*, on *the cultivation of land in that kingdom*, we should inquire for similar compositions, and examine the contents of such as we can procure.

The sublime science of Chymistry, which I was on the point of calling *divine*, must be added, as a key to the richest treasuries of nature; and it is impossible to foresee how greatly it may improve our *manufactures*, especially if it can fix those brilliant *dyes*, which want nothing of perfect beauty but a longer continuance of their splendour; or how far it may lead to new methods of *fluxing and compounding metals*, which the *Indians*, as well as the *Chinese*, are thought to have practised in higher perfection than ourselves.

In those elegant arts, which are called *fine* and *liberal*, though of less general utility than the labours of the mechanick, it is really wonderful how much a single nation has excelled the whole world: I mean the ancient *Greeks*, whose *Sculpture*, of which we have exquisite remains both on gems and in marble, no modern tool can equal; whose *Architecture* we can only imitate at a servile distance, but are unable to make one addition to it, without destroying its graceful simplicity; whose *Poetry* still delights us in youth, and amuses us at a maturer age; and of whose *Painting* and *Musick* we have the concurrent relations of so many grave authors, that it would be strange incredulity to doubt their excellence. *Painting*, as an art belonging to the powers
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of the imagination, or what is commonly called *Genius*, appears to be yet in its infancy among the people of the East: but the *Hindu* system of *musick* has, I believe, been formed on truer principles than our own; and all the skill of the native composers is directed to the great object of their art, *the natural expression of strong passions*, to which *melody*, indeed, is often sacrificed: though some of their tunes are pleasing even to an *European* ear. Nearly the same may be truly asserted of the *Arabian* or *Persian* system; and, by a correct explanation of the best books on that subject, much of the old *Grecian* theory may probably be recovered.

The *poetical* works of the *Arabs* and *Persians*, which differ surprisingly in their style and form, are here pretty generally known; and, though tastes, concerning which there can be no disputing, are divided in regard to their merit, yet we may safely say of them, what ABULFAZL pronounces of the *Mahabbárat*, that, “although they “abound with extravagant images and descriptions, they are in the “highest degree entertaining and instructive.” Poets of the greatest genius, PINDAR, ÆSCHYLUS, DANTE, PETRARCA, SHAKESPEAR, SPENSER, have most abounded in images not far from the brink of absurdity; but, if their luxuriant fancies, or those of ABULOLA, FIRDAUSI, NIZA'MI, were pruned away at the hazard of their strength and majesty, we should lose many pleasures by the amputation. If we may form a just opinion of the *Sanscrit* poetry from the specimens already exhibited, (though we can only judge perfectly by consulting the originals), we cannot but thirst for the whole work of VYA'SA, with which a member of our society, whose presence deters me from saying more of him, will in due time gratify the publick. The poetry of *Mathurà*, which is the *Parnassian* land of the *Hindus*, has a softer and less elevated strain; but, since the inhabitants of the districts near *Agra*, and principally of the *Duab*, are said to surpass all other *Indians*

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in eloquence, and to have composed many agreeable tales and love-songs, which are still extant, the *Bhāṣā*, or *vernacular idiom* of *Vraja*, in which they are written, should not be neglected. No specimens of genuine *Oratory* can be expected from nations, among whom the form of government precludes even the idea of *popular eloquence*; but the art of writing, in elegant and modulated periods, has been cultivated in *Asia* from the earliest ages: the *Vēda's*, as well as the *Alcoran*, are written in measured prose; and the compositions of ISOCRATES are not more highly polished than those of the best *Arabian* and *Persian* authors.

Of the *Hindu* and *Muselman* architecture there are yet many noble remains in *Babar*, and some in the vicinity of *Malda*; nor am I unwilling to believe, that even those ruins, of which you will, I trust, be presented with correct delineations, may furnish our own architects with new ideas of beauty and sublimity.

Permit me now to add a few words on the *Sciences*, properly so named; in which it must be admitted, that the *Asiatics*, if compared with our Western nations, are mere children. One of the most sagacious men in this age, who continues, I hope, to improve and adorn it, SAMUEL JOHNSON, remarked in my hearing, that, “if NEWTON had flourished in ancient *Greece*, he would have been “worshipped as a divinity:” how zealously then would he be adored in *Hindustan*, if his incomparable writings could be read and comprehended by the *Pandits* of *Cashmīr* or *Benares*! I have seen a mathematical book in *Sanṣcrit* of the highest antiquity; but soon perceived from the diagrams, that it contained only simple elements: there may, indeed, have been, in the favourable atmosphere of *Asia*, some diligent observers of the celestial bodies, and such observations, as are recorded, should indisputably be made publick; but let us not expect
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any new *methods*, or the analysis of new *curves*, from the geometricians of *Iran*, *Turkistan*, or *India*. Could the works of ARCHIMEDES, the NEWTON of *Sicily*, be restored to their genuine purity by the help of *Arabick* versions, we might then have reason to triumph on the success of our scientific inquiries; or could the successive improvements and various rules of *Algebra* be traced through *Arabian* channels, to which CARDAN boasted that he had access, the modern History of *Mathematics* would receive considerable illustration.

The Jurisprudence of the *Hindus* and *Muselmans* will produce more immediate advantage; and, if some standard *law-tracts* were accurately translated from the *Sanscrit* and *Arabick*, we might hope in time to see so complete a Digest of *Indian* Laws, that all disputes among the natives might be decided without *uncertainty*, which is in truth a disgrace, though satirically called a *glory*, to the forensic science.

All these objects of inquiry must appear to you, Gentlemen, in so strong a light, that bare intimations of them will be sufficient; nor is it necessary to make use of *emulation* as an incentive to an ardent pursuit of them: yet I cannot forbear expressing a wish, that the activity of the *French* in the same pursuits may not be superior to ours, and that the researches of M. SONNERAT, whom the court of *Versailles* employed for seven years in these climates, merely to collect such materials as we are seeking, may kindle, instead of abating, our own curiosity and zeal. If you assent, as I flatter myself you do, to these opinions, you will also concur in promoting the object of them; and a few ideas having presented themselves to my mind, I presume to lay them before you, with an entire submission to your judgement.

No contributions, except those of the literary kind, will be requisite for the support of the society; but, if each of us were occasionally to contribute a succinct description of such manuscripts as he had perused or inspected, with their dates and the names of their owners, and to propose for solution such *questions* as had occurred to him concerning *Asiatick* Art, Science, and History, natural or civil, we should possess without labour, and almost by imperceptible degrees, a fuller catalogue of Oriental books, than has hitherto been exhibited, and our correspondents would be apprised of those points, to which we chiefly direct our investigations. Much may, I am confident, be expected from the communications of *learned natives*, whether lawyers, physicians, or private scholars, who would eagerly, on the first invitation, send us their *Mekámát* and *Risálahs* on a variety of subjects; some for the sake of advancing general knowledge, but most of them from a desire, neither uncommon nor unreasonable, of attracting notice, and recommending themselves to favour. With a view to avail ourselves of this disposition, and to bring their latent science under our inspection, it might be advisable to print and circulate a short memorial, in *Persian* and *Hindi*, setting forth, in a style accommodated to their own habits and prejudices, the design of our institution; nor would it be impossible hereafter, to give a medal annually, with inscriptions, in *Persian* on one side, and on the reverse in *Sanscrit*, as the prize of merit, to the writer of the best essay or dissertation. To instruct others is the prescribed duty of learned *Brahmans*, and, if they be men of substance, without reward; but they would all be flattered with an honorary mark of distinction; and the *Mahomedans* have not only the permission, but the positive command, of their law-giver, *to search for learning even in the remotest parts of the globe*. It were superfluous to suggest, with how much correctness and facility their compositions might be translated for our use, since their languages are now more generally

and perfectly understood than they have ever been by any nation of *Europe*.

I have detained you, I fear, too long by this address, though it has been my endeavour to reconcile comprehensiveness with brevity: the subjects, which I have lightly sketched, would be found, if minutely examined, to be inexhaustible; and, since no limits can be set to your researches but the boundaries of *Asia* itself, I may not improperly conclude with wishing for your society, what the Commentator on the Laws, prays for the constitution, of our country, that IT MAY BE PERPETUAL.

THE THIRD
ANNIVERSARY DISCOURSE,

DELIVERED 2 FEBRUARY, 1786.

BY

THE PRESIDENT.

IN the former discourses, which I had the honour of addressing to you, Gentlemen, on the *institution* and *objects* of our Society, I confined myself purposely to general topicks; giving in the first a distant prospect of the vast career, on which we were entering, and, in the second, exhibiting a more diffuse, but still superficial, sketch of the various discoveries in History, Science, and Art, which we might justly expect from our inquiries into the literature of *Asia*. I now propose to fill up that outline so comprehensively as to omit nothing essential, yet so concisely as to avoid being tedious; and, if the state of my health shall suffer me to continue long enough in this climate, it is my design, with your permission, to prepare for our annual meetings a series of short dissertations, unconnected in their titles and subjects, but all tending to a common point of no small importance in the pursuit of interesting truths.

Of all the works, which have been published in our own age, or, perhaps, in any other, on the History of the Ancient World, and *the first population of this habitable globe*, that of Mr. JACOB BRYANT, whom I name with reverence and affection, has the best claim to the praise of deep erudition ingeniously applied, and new theories happily illustrated by an assemblage of numberless converging rays from a most extensive circumference: it falls, nevertheless, as every human work must fall, short of perfection; and the least satisfactory part of it seems to be that, which relates to the derivation of words from *Asiatick* languages. Etymology has, no doubt, some use in historical researches; but it is a medium of proof so very fallacious, that, where it elucidates one fact, it obscures a thousand, and more frequently borders on the ridiculous, than leads to any solid conclusion: it rarely carries with it any *internal* power of conviction from a resemblance of sounds or similarity of letters; yet often, where it is wholly unaffected by those advantages, it may be indisputably proved by *extrinsic* evidence. We know *à posteriori*, that both *fitz* and *bijo*, by the nature of two several dialects, are derived from *filius*; that *uncle* comes from *avus*, and *stranger* from *extra*; that *jour* is deducible, through the *Italian*, from *dies*; and *rossignol* from *luscinia*, or the *singer in groves*; that *sciuro*, *écureuil*, and *squirrel* are compounded of two *Greek* words descriptive of the animal; which etymologies, though they could not have been demonstrated *à priori*, might serve to confirm, if any such confirmation were necessary, the proofs of a connection between the members of one great Empire; but, when we derive our *hanger*, or *short pendent sword*, from the *Persian*, because ignorant travellers thus mis-spell the word *kbanjar*, which in truth means a different weapon, or *sandal-wood* from the *Greek*, because we suppose, that *sandals* were sometimes made of it, we gain no ground in proving the affinity of nations, and only weaken arguments, which might otherwise be firmly supported. That Cu's then, or, as it certainly is written in

one ancient dialect, Cu'ṛ, and in others, probably, CA's, enters into the composition of many proper names, we may very reasonably believe; and that *Algeziras* takes its name from the *Arabick* word for an *island*, cannot be doubted; but, when we are told from *Europe*, that places and provinces in *India* were clearly denominated from those words, we cannot but observe, in the first instance, that the town, in which we now are assembled, is properly written and pronounced *Calicàtā*; that both *Catā* and *Cūt* unquestionably mean *places of strength*, or, in general, any *inclosures*; and that *Gujarāt* is at least as remote from *Jezirab* in sound, as it is in situation.

Another exception (and a third could hardly be discovered by any candid criticism) to the *Analysis of Ancient Mythology*, is, that the *method* of reasoning and arrangement of topics adopted in that learned work are not quite agreeable to the title, but almost wholly *synthetical*; and, though *synthesis* may be the better mode in pure *science*, where the principles are undeniable, yet it seems less calculated to give complete satisfaction in *historical* disquisitions, where every postulatam will perhaps be refused, and every definition controverted: this may seem a slight objection, but the subject is in itself so interesting, and the full conviction of all reasonable men so desirable, that it may not be lost labour to discuss the same or a similar theory in a method purely analytical, and, after beginning with facts of general notoriety or undisputed evidence, to investigate such truths, as are at first unknown or very imperfectly discerned.

The *five* principal nations, who have in different ages divided among themselves, as a kind of inheritance, the vast continent of *Asia*, with the many islands depending on it, are the *Indians*, the *Chinese*, the *Tartars*, the *Arabs*, and the *Persians*: *who* they severally were, *whence*, and *when* they came, *where* they now are settled, and *what* advantage

advantage a more perfect knowledge of them all may bring to our *European* world, will be shown, I trust, in *five* distinct essays; the last of which will demonstrate the connexion or diversity between them, and solve the great problem, whether they had *any* common origin, and whether that origin was *the same*, which we generally ascribe to them.

I begin with *India*, not because I find reason to believe it the true centre of population or of knowledge, but, because it is the country, which we now inhabit, and from which we may best survey the regions around us; as, in popular language, we speak of the *rising* sun, and of his *progress through the Zodiack*, although it had long ago been imagined, and is now demonstrated, that he is himself the centre of our planetary system. Let me here premise, that, in all these inquiries concerning the history of *India*, I shall confine my researches downwards to the *Mohammedan* conquests at the beginning of the *eleventh* century, but extend them upwards, as high as possible, to the earliest authentick records of the human species.

India then, on its most enlarged scale, in which the ancients appear to have understood it, comprises an area of near *forty* degrees on each side, including a space almost as large as all *Europe*; being divided on the west from *Persia* by the *Arachosian* mountains, limited on the east by the *Chinese* part of the farther peninsula, confined on the north by the wilds of *Tartary*, and extending to the south as far as the isles of *Yucca*. This trapezium, therefore, comprehends the stupendous hills of *Potyl* or *Tibet*, the beautiful valley of *Cashmír*, and all the domains of the old *Indoscythians*, the countries of *Népál* and *Butant*, *Cámrúp* or *Asám*, together with *Siam*, *Ava*, *Racan*, and the bordering kingdoms, as far as the *China* of the *Hindus* or *Sin* of the *Arabian* Geographers; not to mention the whole western peninsula with the celebrated island of
Sinhala,

Sinbala, or *Lion-like men*, at its southern extremity. By *India*, in short, I mean that whole extent of country, in which the primitive religion and languages of the *Hindus* prevail at this day with more or less of their ancient purity, and in which the *Nāgarī* letters are still used with more or less deviation from their original form.

The *Hindus* themselves believe their own country, to which they give the vain epithets of *Medhyama* or *Central*, and *Punyabhūmi*, or the *Land of Virtues*, to have been the portion of BHARAT, one of *nine* brothers, whose father had the dominion of the whole earth; and they represent the mountains of *Himālaya* as lying to the north, and, to the west, those of *Vindhya*, called also *Vindian* by the *Greeks*; beyond which the *Sindhu* runs in several branches to the sea, and meets it nearly opposite to the point of *Dwārakā*, the celebrated seat of their Shepherd God: in the *south-east* they place the great river *Saravatya*; by which they probably mean that of *Ava*, called also *Airāvati* in part of its course, and giving perhaps its ancient name to the gulf of *Sabara*. This domain of *Bharat* they consider as the middle of the *Jambudwīpa*, which the *Tibetians* also call the Land of *Zambu*; and the appellation is extremely remarkable; for *Jambu* is the *Sanscrit* name of a delicate fruit called *Jāman* by the *Muselmans*, and by us *rose-apple*; but the largest and richest sort is named *Amrita*, or *Immortal*; and the Mythologists of *Tibet* apply the same word to a celestial tree bearing *ambrosial fruit*, and adjoining to *four* vast rocks, from which as many sacred rivers derive their several streams.

The inhabitants of this extensive tract are described by Mr. LORD with great exactness, and with a picturesque elegance peculiar to our ancient language: “A people, says he, presented themselves to mine
“ eyes, clothed in linen garments somewhat low descending, of a
“ gesture and garb, as I may say, maidenly and well nigh effeminate,
“ of

“ of a countenance shy and somewhat estranged, yet smiling out a
 “ glozed and bathful familiarity.” Mr. ORME, the Historian of *India*,
 who unites an exquisite taste for every fine art with an accurate know-
 ledge of *Asiatick* manners, observes, in his elegant preliminary Differ-
 tation, that this “ country has been inhabited from the earliest an-
 “ tiquity by a people, who have no resemblance, either in their figure
 “ or manners, with any of the nations contiguous to them,” and that,
 “ although conquerors have established themselves at different times,
 “ in different parts of *India*, yet the original inhabitants have lost very
 “ little of their original character.” The ancients, in fact, give a de-
 scription of them, which our early travellers confirmed, and our own
 personal knowledge of them nearly verifies; as you will perceive from
 a passage in the Geographical Poem of DIONYSIUS, which the Analyst
 of Ancient Mythology has translated with great spirit :

“ To th’ east a lovely country wide extends,
 “ INDIA, whose borders the wide ocean bounds;
 “ On this the sun, new rising from the main,
 “ Smiles pleas’d, and sheds his early orient beam.
 “ Th’ inhabitants are swart, and in their locks
 “ Betray the tints of the dark hyacinth.
 “ Various their functions; some the rock explore,
 “ And from the mine extract the latent gold;
 “ Some labour at the woof with cunning skill,
 “ And manufacture linen; others shape
 “ And polish iv’ry with the nicest care:
 “ Many retire to rivers shoal, and plunge
 “ To seek the beryl flaming in its bed,
 “ Or glitt’ring diamond. Oft the jasper’s found
 “ Green, but diaphanous; the topaz too
 “ Of ray serene and pleasing; last of all

“ The

- “ The lovely amethyst, in which combine
 “ All the mild shades of purple. The rich soil,
 “ Wash’d by a thousand rivers, from all sides
 “ Pours on the natives wealth without control.”

Their sources of wealth are still abundant even after so many revolutions and conquests; in their manufactures of cotton they still surpass all the world; and their features have, most probably, remained unaltered since the time of DIONYSIUS; nor can we reasonably doubt, how degenerate and abased so ever the *Hindus* may now appear, that in some early age they were splendid in arts and arms, happy in government, wise in legislation, and eminent in various knowledge: but, since their civil history beyond the middle of the *nineteenth* century from the present time, is involved in a cloud of fables, we seem to possess only *four* general media of satisfying our curiosity concerning it; namely, first, their *Languages* and *Letters*; secondly, their *Philosophy* and *Religion*; thirdly, the actual remains of their old *Sculpture* and *Architecture*; and fourthly, the written memorials of their *Sciences* and *Arts*.

I. It is much to be lamented, that neither the *Greeks*, who attended ALEXANDER into *India*, nor those who were long connected with it under the *Bactrian* Princes, have left us any means of knowing with accuracy, what vernacular languages they found on their arrival in this Empire. The *Mohammedans*, we know, heard the people of proper *Hindustan*, or *India* on a limited scale, speaking a *Bhāshā*, or living tongue of a very singular construction, the purest dialect of which was current in the districts round *Agrā*, and chiefly on the poetical ground of *Mat’burā*; and this is commonly called the idiom of *Vraja*. Five words in six, perhaps, of this language were derived from the *Sanscrit*, in which books of religion and science were composed, and which appears to have been formed by an exquisite grammatical

arrangement, as the name itself implies, from some unpolished idiom ; but the basis of the *Hindustani*, particularly the inflexions and regimen of verbs, differed as widely from both those tongues, as *Arabick* differs from *Persian*, or *German* from *Greek*. Now the general effect of conquest is to leave the current language of the conquered people unchanged, or very little altered, in its ground-work, but to blend with it a considerable number of exotick names both for things and for actions ; as it has happened in every country, that I can recollect, where the conquerors have not preserved their own tongue unmixed with that of the natives, like the *Turks* in *Greece*, and the *Saxons* in *Britain* ; and this analogy might induce us to believe, that the pure *Hindi*, whether of *Tartarian* or *Chaldean* origin, was primeval in Upper *India*, into which the *San scrit* was introduced by conquerors from other kingdoms in some very remote age ; for we cannot doubt that the language of the *Véda's* was used in the great extent of country, which has before been delineated, as long as the religion of *Brumà* has prevailed in it.

The *San scrit* language, whatever be its antiquity, is of a wonderful structure ; more perfect than the *Greek*, more copious than the *Latin*, and more exquisitely refined than either, yet bearing to both of them a stronger affinity, both in the roots of verbs and in the forms of grammar, than could possibly have been produced by accident ; so strong indeed, that no philologer could examine them all three, without believing them to have sprung from some common source, which, perhaps, no longer exists : there is a similar reason, though not quite so forcible, for supposing that both the *Gothick* and the *Celtick*, though blended with a very different idiom, had the same origin with the *San scrit* ; and the old *Persian* might be added to the same family, if this were the place for discussing any question concerning the antiquities of *Persia*.

The *characters*, in which the languages of *India* were originally written, are called *Nāgarī*, from *Nagara*, a City, with the word *Dēva* sometimes prefixed, because they are believed to have been taught by the Divinity himself, who prescribed the artificial order of them in a voice from heaven. These letters, with no greater variation in their form by the change of straight lines to curves, or conversely, than the *Cufick* alphabet has received in its way to *India*, are still adopted in more than twenty kingdoms and states, from the borders of *Cashgar* and *Khoten*, to *Rāma's* bridge, and from the *Sindhu* to the river of *Siam*; nor can I help believing, although the polished and elegant *Dēvanāgarī* may not be so ancient as the monumental characters in the caverns of *Jarasandha*, that the square *Chaldaick* letters, in which most *Hebrew* books are copied, were originally the same, or derived from the same prototype, both with the *Indian* and *Arabian* characters: that the *Phe-nician*, from which the *Greek* and *Roman* alphabets were formed by various changes and inversions, had a similar origin, there can be little doubt; and the inscriptions at *Candrab*, of which you now possess a most accurate copy, seem to be compounded of *Nāgarī* and *Ethiopic* letters, which bear a close relation to each other, both in the mode of writing from the left hand, and in the singular manner of connecting the vowels with the consonants. These remarks may favour an opinion entertained by many, that all the symbols of *sound*, which at first, probably, were only rude outlines of the different organs of speech, had a common origin: the symbols of *ideas*, now used in *China* and *Japan*, and formerly, perhaps, in *Egypt* and *Mexico*, are quite of a distinct nature; but it is very remarkable, that the order of *sounds* in the *Chinese* grammars corresponds nearly with that observed in *Tibet*, and hardly differs from that, which the *Hindus* consider as the invention of their Gods.

II. Of the *Indian* Religion and Philosophy, I shall here say but little ; because a full account of each would require a separate volume : it will be sufficient in this dissertation to assume, what might be proved beyond controversy, that we now live among the adorers of those very deities, who were worshipped under different names in old *Greece* and *Italy*, and among the professors of those philosophical tenets, which the *Ionick* and *Attick* writers illustrated with all the beauties of their melodious language. On one hand we see the trident of NEPTUNE, the eagle of JUPITER, the satyrs of BACCHUS, the bow of CUPID, and the chariot of the *Sun* ; on another we hear the cymbals of RHEA, the songs of the *Muses*, and the pastoral tales of APOLLO NOMIUS. In more retired scenes, in groves, and in seminaries of learning, we may perceive the *Bráhmans* and the *Sarmanes*, mentioned by CLEMENS, disputing in the forms of *logick*, or discoursing on the vanity of human enjoyments, on the immortality of the soul, her emanation from the eternal mind, her debasement, wanderings, and final union with her source. The *six* philosophical schools, whose principles are explained in the *Deršana Sástra*, comprise all the metaphysics of the old *Academy*, the *Stoa*, the *Lyceum* ; nor is it possible to read the *Védánta*, or the many fine compositions in illustration of it, without believing, that PYTHAGORAS and PLATO derived their sublime theories from the same fountain with the sages of *India*. The *Scythian* and *Hyperborean* doctrines and mythology may also be traced in every part of these eastern regions ; nor can we doubt, that WOD or ODEN, whose religion, as the northern historians admit, was introduced into *Scandinavia* by a foreign race, was the same with BUDDH, whose rites were probably imported into *India* nearly at the same time, though received much later by the *Chinefe*, who soften his name into FO'.

This may be a proper place to ascertain an important point in the Chronology of the *Hindus* ; for the priests of BUDDHA left in *Tibet*
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and *Cbina* the precise epoch of his appearance, real or imagined, in this Empire ; and their information, which had been preserved in writing, was compared by the *Cbristian* Missionaries and scholars with our own era. COUPLET, DE GUIGNES, GIORGI, and BAILLY, differ a little in their accounts of this epoch, but that of *Couplet* seems the most correct : on taking, however, the medium of the four several dates, we may fix the time of BUDDHA, or the *ninth* great incarnation of VISHNU, in the year one *thousand* and *fourteen* before the birth of CHRIST, or *two thousand seven hundred and ninety-nine* years ago. Now the *Cáshmirians*, who boast of his descent in their kingdom, assert that he appeared on earth about *two* centuries after CRISHNA the *Indian* APOLLO, who took so decided a part in the war of the *Mabábhárat* ; and, if an Etymologist were to suppose, that the *Athenians* had embellished their poetical history of PANDION's expulsion and the restoration of ÆGEUS with the *Asiatick* tale of the PA'NDUS and YUDHISHTIR, neither of which words they could have articulated, I should not hastily deride his conjecture : certain it is, that *Pándumandel* is called by the *Greeks* the country of PANDION. We have, therefore, determined another interesting epoch, by fixing the age of CRISHNA near the *three thousandth* year from the present time ; and, as the three first *Avatárs*, or descents of VISHNU, relate no less clearly to an Universal Deluge, in which eight persons only were saved, than the *fourth* and *fifth* do to the *punishment of impiety* and the *humiliation of the proud*, we may for the present assume, that the *second*, or *silver*, age of the *Hindus* was subsequent to the dispersion from *Babel* ; so that we have only a dark interval of about a *thousand* years, which were employed in the settlement of nations, the foundation of states or empires, and the cultivation of civil society. The great incarnate Gods of this intermediate age are both named RA'MA but with different epithets ; one of whom bears a wonderful resemblance to the *Indian* BACCHUS, and his wars are the subject of several heroick poems.

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He is represented as a descendent from SU'RYA, or the SUN, as the husband of SI'TA', and the son of a princess named CAU'SEILYA': it is very remarkable, that the *Peruvians*, whose *Incas* boasted of the same descent, styled their greatest festival *Ramafitoa*; whence we may suppose, that South *America* was peopled by the same race, who imported into the farthest parts of *Asia* the rites and fabulous history of RA'MA. These rites and this history are extremely curious; and, although I cannot believe with NEWTON, that ancient mythology was nothing but historical truth in a poetical dress, nor, with BACON, that it consisted solely of moral and metaphysical allegories, nor with BRYANT, that all the heathen divinities are only different attributes and representations of the Sun or of deceased progenitors, but conceive that the whole system of religious fables rose, like the *Nile*, from several distinct sources, yet I cannot but agree, that one great spring and fountain of all idolatry in the four quarters of the globe was the veneration paid by men to the vast body of fire, which "looks from his sole dominion like the God of this world;" and another, the immoderate respect shown to the memory of powerful or virtuous ancestors, especially the founders of kingdoms, legislators, and warriors, of whom the *Sun* or the *Moon* were wildly supposed to be the parents.

III. The remains of *architecture* and *sculpture* in *India*, which I mention here as mere monuments of antiquity, not as specimens of ancient art, seem to prove an early connection between this country and *Africa*: the pyramids of *Egypt*, the colossal statues described by PAUSANIAS and others, the sphinx, and the HERMES *Canis*, which last bears a great resemblance to the *Varādhvatār*, or the incarnation of VISHNU in the form of a *Boar*, indicate the style and mythology of the same indefatigable workmen, who formed the vast excavations of *Cāndarab*, the various temples and images of BUDDHA, and the idols, which are continually dug up at *Gayá*, or in its vicinity. The letters

on many of those monuments appear, as I have before intimated, partly of *Indian*, and partly of *Abyssinian* or *Ethiopic*, origin; and all these indubitable facts may induce no ill-grounded opinion, that *Ethiopia* and *Hindustàn* were peopled or colonized by the same extraordinary race; in confirmation of which, it may be added, that the mountaineers of *Bengal* and *Babàr* can hardly be distinguished in some of their features, particularly their lips and noses, from the modern *Abyssinians*, whom the *Arabs* call the children of CU'SH: and the ancient *Hindus*, according to STRABO, differed in nothing from the *Africans*, but in the straightness and smoothness of their hair, while that of the others was crisp or woolly; a difference proceeding chiefly, if not entirely, from the respective humidity or dryness of their atmospheres: hence the people who *received the first light of the rising sun*, according to the limited knowledge of the ancients, are said by APULIUS to be the *Arü* and *Ethiopians*, by which he clearly meant certain nations of *India*; where we frequently see figures of BUDDHA with *curled hair* apparently designed for a representation of it in its natural state.

IV. It is unfortunate, that the *Silpi Sástra*, or *collection of treatises on Arts and Manufactures*, which must have contained a treasure of useful information on *dying, painting, and metallurgy*, has been so long neglected, that few, if any, traces of it are to be found; but the labours of the *Indian* loom and needle have been universally celebrated; and *fine linen* is not improbably supposed to have been called *Sindon*, from the name of the river near which it was wrought in the highest perfection: the people of *Colchis* were also famed for this manufacture, and the *Egyptians* yet more, as we learn from several passages in scripture, and particularly from a beautiful chapter in EZEKIAL containing the most authentick delineation of ancient commerce, of which *Tyre* had been the principal mart. Silk was fabricated immemorially by the *Indians*, though commonly ascribed to the people of *Serica* or *Tancùt*,

Tancùt, among whom probably the word *Sèr*, which the *Greeks* applied to the *filk-worm*, signified *gold*; a sense, which it now bears in *Tibet*. That the *Hindus* were in early ages a *commercial* people, we have many reasons to believe; and in the first of their sacred law-tracts, which they suppose to have been revealed by *MENU* many *millions* of years ago, we find a curious passage on the legal *interest* of money, and the limited rate of it in different cases, with an exception in regard to *adventures* at *sea*; an exception, which the sense of mankind approves, and which commerce absolutely requires, though it was not before the reign of *CHARLES I.* that our own jurisprudence fully admitted it in respect of maritime contracts.

We are told by the *Grecian* writers, that the *Indians* were the wisest of nations; and in moral wisdom, they were certainly eminent: their *Niti Sástra*, or *System of Ethicks*, is yet preserved, and the Fables of *VISHNUSERMAN*, whom we ridiculously call *Pilpay*, are the most beautiful, if not the most ancient, collection of apologues in the world: they were first translated from the *San scrit*, in the *sixth* century, by the order of *BUZERCHUMIHR*, or *Bright as the Sun*, the chief physician and afterwards *Vezir* of the great *ANU'SHIREVA'N*, and are extant under various names in more than twenty languages; but their original title is *Hitópadeśa*, or *Amicable Instruction*; and, as the very existence of *Esop*, whom the *Arabs* believe to have been an *Abyssinian*, appears rather doubtful, I am not disinclined to suppose, that the first *moral fables*, which appeared in *Europe*, were of *Indian* or *Ethiopian* origin.

The *Hindus* are said to have boasted of *three* inventions, all of which, indeed, are admirable, the method of instructing by *apologues*, the *decimal scale* adopted now by all civilized nations, and the game of *Chefs*, on which they have some curious treatises; but, if their numerous works on Grammar, Logick, Rhetorick, Musick, all which are
extant

extant and accessible, were explained in some language generally known, it would be found, that they had yet higher pretensions to the praise of a fertile and inventive genius. Their lighter Poems are lively and elegant; their Epick, magnificent and sublime in the highest degree; their *Purāna's* comprise a series of mythological Histories in blank verse from the *Creation* to the supposed incarnation of BUDDHA; and their *Vēdas*, as far as we can judge from that compendium of them, which is called *Upanishat*, abound with noble speculations in metaphysics, and fine discourses on the being and attributes of GOD. Their most ancient medical book, entitled *Chereca*, is believed to be the work of SIVA; for each of the divinities in their *Triad* has at least one *sacred* composition ascribed to him; but, as to mere human works on *History* and *Geography*, though they are said to be extant in *Cashmir*, it has not been yet in my power to procure them. What their *astronomical* and *mathematical* writings contain, will not, I trust, remain long a secret: they are easily procured, and their importance cannot be doubted. The Philosopher, whose works are said to include a system of the universe founded on the principle of *Attraction* and the *Central* position of the sun, is named YAVAN ACHA'RYA, because he had travelled, we are told, into *Ionia*: if this be true, he might have been one of those, who conversed with PYTHAGORAS; this at least is undeniable, that a book on astronomy in *Sanscrit* bears the title of *Yavana Jātica*, which may signify the *Ionic Set*; nor is it improbable, that the names of the planets and *Zodiacal* stars, which the *Arabs* borrowed from the *Greeks*, but which we find in the oldest *Indian* records, were originally devised by the same ingenious and enterprizing race, from whom both *Greece* and *India* were peopled; the race, who, as DIONYSIUS describes them,

——— ' first assayed the deep,

' And wafted merchandize to coasts unknown,

- ‘ Those, who digested first the starry choir,
- ‘ Their motions mark’d, and call’d them by their names.’

Of these cursory observations on the *Hindus*, which it would require volumes to expand and illustrate, this is the result: that they had an immemorial affinity with the old *Persians*, *Ethiopians*, and *Egyptians*, the *Phenicians*, *Greeks*, and *Tuscans*, the *Scythians* or *Goths*, and *Celts*, the *Chinese*, *Japanese*, and *Peruvians*; whence, as no reason appears for believing, that they were a colony from any one of those nations, or any of those nations from them, we may fairly conclude that they all proceeded from some *central* country, to investigate which will be the object of my future Discourses; and I have a sanguine hope, that your collections during the present year will bring to light many useful discoveries; although the departure for *Europe* of a very ingenious member, who first opened the inestimable mine of *Sanscrit* literature, will often deprive us of accurate and solid information concerning the languages and antiquities of *India*.

THE FOURTH
ANNIVERSARY DISCOURSE,

DELIVERED 15 FEBRUARY, 1787.

BY

THE PRESIDENT.

GENTLEMEN,

I HAD the honour last year of opening to you my intention, to discourse at our annual meetings on the *five* principal nations, who have peopled the continent and islands of *Asia*; so as to trace, by an historical and philological analysis, the number of ancient stems, from which those five branches have severally sprung, and the central region, from which they appear to have proceeded: you may, therefore, expect, that, having submitted to your consideration a few general remarks on the old inhabitants of *India*, I should now offer my sentiments on some other nation, who, from a similarity of *language, religion, arts, and manners*, may be supposed to have had an early connection with the *Hindus*; but, since we find some *Asiatick* nations totally dissimilar to them in all or most of those particulars, and since the difference will strike you more forcibly by an immediate and close comparison, I design at present to give a short account of a wonderful people, who seem in

every respect so strongly contrasted to the original natives of this country, that they must have been for ages a distinct and separate race.

For the purpose of these discourses, I considered *India* on its largest scale, describing it as lying between *Persia* and *China*, *Tartary* and *Java*; and, for the same purpose, I now apply the name of *Arabia*, as the *Arabian* Geographers often apply it, to that extensive Peninsula, which the Red Sea divides from *Africa*, the great *Affyrian* river from *Iràn*, and of which the *Erythrean* Sea washes the base; without excluding any part of its western side, which would be completely maritime, if no isthmus intervened between the *Mediterranean*, and the Sea of *Kolzum*: that country in short I call *Arabia*, in which the *Arabick* language and letters, or such as have a near affinity to them, have been immemorially current.

Arabia, thus divided from *India* by a vast ocean, or at least by a broad bay, could hardly have been connected in any degree with this country, until navigation and commerce had been considerably improved: yet, as the *Hindus* and the people of *Yemen* were both commercial nations in a very early age, they were probably the first instruments of conveying to the western world the gold, ivory, and perfumes of *India*, as well as the fragrant wood, called *alhurwa* in *Arabick* and *aguru* in *Sanscrit*, which grows in the greatest perfection in *Anam* or *Cochinchina*. It is possible too, that a part of the *Arabian* Idolatry might have been derived from the same source with that of the *Hindus*; but such an intercourse may be considered as partial and accidental only; nor am I more convinced, than I was fifteen years ago, when I took the liberty to animadvert on a passage in the History of Prince KANTEMIR, that the *Turks* have any just reason for holding the coast of *Yemen* to be a part of *India*, and calling its inhabitants *Yellow Indians*.

The *Arabs* have never been entirely subdued ; nor has any impression been made on them, except on their borders ; where, indeed, the *Phœnicians*, *Persians*, *Ethiopians*, *Egyptians*, and, in modern times, the *Ottoman Tartars*, have severally acquired settlements ; but, with these exceptions, the natives of *Hejaz* and *Yemen* have preserved for ages the sole dominion of their deserts and pastures, their mountains and fertile valleys : thus, apart from the rest of mankind, this extraordinary people have retained their primitive manners and language, features and character, as long and as remarkably as the *Hindus* themselves. All the genuine *Arabs* of *Syria* whom I knew in *Europe*, those of *Yemen*, whom I saw in the isle of *Hinzudn*, whither many had come from *Masfat* for the purpose of trade, and those of *Hejaz*, whom I have met in *Bengal*, form a striking contrast to the *Hindu* inhabitants of these provinces : their eyes are full of vivacity, their speech voluble and articulate, their deportment manly and dignified, their apprehension quick, their minds always present and attentive ; with a spirit of independence appearing in the countenances even of the lowest among them. Men will always differ in their ideas of civilization, each measuring it by the habits and prejudices of his own country ; but, if courtesy and urbanity, a love of poetry and eloquence, and the practice of exalted virtues be a juster measure of perfect society, we have certain proof, that the people of *Arabia*, both on plains and in cities, in republican and monarchical states, were eminently civilized for many ages before their conquest of *Persia*.

It is deplorable, that the ancient History of this majestick race should be as little known in detail before the time of *Dhû Yezen*, as that of the *Hindus* before *Vicramâditya* ; for, although the vast historical work of *Alnuwairî*, and the *Murûjuldhabab*, or *Golden Meadows*, of *Almasûdî*, contain chapters on the kings of *Himyar*, *Ghasân*, and *Hirab*, with lists of them and sketches of their several reigns, and
although

although Genealogical Tables, from which chronology might be better ascertained, are prefixed to many compositions of the old *Arabian* Poets, yet most manuscripts are so incorrect, and so many contradictions are found in the best of them, that we can scarce lean upon tradition with security, and must have recourse to the same media for investigating the history of the *Arabs*, that I before adopted in regard to that of the *Indians*; namely, their *language*, *letters*, and *religion*, their ancient *monuments*, and the certain remains of their *arts*; on each of which heads I shall touch very concisely, having premised, that my observations will in general be confined to the state of *Arabia* before that singular revolution, at the beginning of the *seventh century*, the effects of which we feel at this day from the *Pyrenean* mountains and the *Danube*, to the farthest parts of the *Indian Empire*, and even to the Eastern Islands.

I. For the knowledge, which any *European*, who pleases, may attain of the *Arabian* language, we are principally indebted to the university of *Leyden*; for, though several *Italians* have assiduously laboured in the same wide field, yet the fruit of their labours has been rendered almost useless by more commodious and more accurate works printed in *Holland*; and, though Pocock certainly accomplished much, and was able to accomplish any thing, yet the *Academical* ease, which he enjoyed, and his theological pursuits, induced him to leave unfinished the valuable work of *Maidani*, which he had prepared for publication; nor, even if that rich mine of *Arabian* Philology had seen the light, would it have borne any comparison with the fifty dissertations of *Hariri*, which the first ALBERT SCHULTENS translated and explained, though he sent abroad but few of them, and has left his worthy grandson, from whom perhaps *Maidani* also may be expected, the honour of publishing the rest: but the palm of glory in this branch of literature is due to GOLIUS, whose works are equally profound

profound and elegant ; so perspicuous in method, that they may always be consulted without fatigue, and read without languor, yet so abundant in matter, that any man, who shall begin with his noble edition of the Grammar compiled by his master ERPENIUS, and proceed, with the help of his incomparable dictionary, to study his History of *Taimûr* by *Ibni Arabshûh*, and shall make himself complete master of that sublime work, will understand the learned *Arabick* better than the deepest scholar at *Constantinople* or at *Mecca*. The *Arabick* language, therefore, is almost wholly in our power ; and, as it is unquestionably one of the most ancient in the world, so it yields to none ever spoken by mortals in the number of its words and the precision of its phrases ; but it is equally true and wonderful, that it bears not the least resemblance, either in words or the structure of them, to the *Sanscrit*, or great parent of the *Indian* dialects ; of which dissimilarity I will mention two remarkable instances : the *Sanscrit*, like the *Greek*, *Persian*, and *German*, delights in compounds, but, in a much higher degree, and indeed to such excess, that I could produce words of more than twenty syllables, not formed ludicrously, like that by which the buffoon in ARISTOPHANES describes a feast, but with perfect seriousness, on the most solemn occasions, and in the most elegant works ; while the *Arabick*, on the other hand, and all its sister dialects, abhor the composition of words, and invariably express very complex ideas by circumlocution ; so that, if a compound word be found in any genuine language of the *Arabian* Peninsula, (*zenmerdah* for instance, which occurs in the *Hamásjah*) it may at once be pronounced an exotick. Again ; it is the genius of the *Sanscrit*, and other languages of the same stock, that the roots of verbs be almost universally *biliteral*, so that *five and twenty hundred* such roots might be formed by the composition of the *fifty Indian* letters ; but the *Arabick* roots are as universally *triliteral*, so that the composition of the *twenty-eight Arabian* letters would give near *two and twenty thousand elements* of the language : and
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this will demonstrate the surprising extent of it; for, although great numbers of its roots are confessedly lost, and some, perhaps, were never in use, yet, if we suppose ten thousand of them (without reckoning *quadrilaterals*) to exist, and each of them to admit only *five* variations, one with another, in forming *derivative nouns*, even then a perfect *Arabick* dictionary ought to contain *fifty thousand* words, each of which may receive a multitude of changes by the rules of grammar. The derivatives in *Sanscrit* are considerably more numerous: but a farther comparison between the two languages is here unnecessary: since, in whatever light we view them, they seem totally distinct, and must have been invented by two different races of men; nor do I recollect a single word in common between them, except *Surnj*, the plural of *Sirāj*, meaning both a *lamp* and the *sun*, the *Sanscrit* name of which is, in *Bengal*, pronounced *Sūrja*; and even this resemblance may be purely accidental. We may easily believe with the *Hindus*, that *not even INDRA himself and his heavenly bands, much less any mortal, ever comprehended in his mind such an ocean of words as their sacred language contains*, and with the *Arabs*, that no man uninspired was ever a complete master of *Arabick*: in fact no person, I believe, now living in *Europe* or *Asia*, can read without study an hundred couplets together in any collection of ancient *Arabian* poems; and we are told, that the great author of the *Kāmūs* learned by accident from the mouth of a child, in a village of *Arabia*, the meaning of three words, which he had long sought in vain from grammarians, and from books, of the highest reputation. It is by approximation alone, that a knowledge of these two venerable languages can be acquired; and, with moderate attention, enough of them both may be known, to delight and instruct us in an infinite degree: I conclude this head with remarking, that the nature of the *Ethiopick* dialect seems to prove an early establishment of the *Arabs* in part of *Ethiopia*, from which they were afterwards expelled, and attacked even in their own country

country by the *Abyssinians*, who had been invited over as auxiliaries against the tyrant of *Yemen* about a century before the birth of MUHAMMED.

Of the characters, in which the old compositions of *Arabia* were written, we know but little; except that the *Koràn* originally appeared in those of *Cúfah*, from which the modern *Arabian* letters, with all their elegant variations, were derived, and which unquestionably had a common origin with the *Hebrew* or *Chaldaick*; but, as to the *Himyarick* letters, or those which we see mentioned by the name of *Almusnad*, we are still in total darkness; the traveller NIEBUHR having been unfortunately prevented from visiting some ancient monuments in *Yemen*, which are said to have inscriptions on them: if those letters bear a strong resemblance to the *Nágarì*, and if a story current in *India* be true, that some *Hindu* merchants heard the *Sanscrit* language spoken in *Arabia the Happy*, we might be confirmed in our opinion, that an intercourse formerly subsisted between the two nations of opposite coasts, but should have no reason to believe, that they sprang from the same immediate stock. The first syllable of *Hamyar*, as many *Europeans* write it, might perhaps induce an Etymologist to derive the *Arabs* of *Yemen* from the great ancestor of the *Indians*; but we must observe, that *Himyar* is the proper appellation of those *Arabs*; and many reasons concur to prove, that the word is purely *Arabick*: the similarity of some proper names on the borders of *India* to those of *Arabia*, as the river *Arabius*, a place called *Araba*, a people named *Aribes* or *Arabies*, and another called *Sabai*, is indeed remarkable, and may hereafter furnish me with observations of some importance, but not at all inconsistent with my present ideas.

II. It is generally asserted, that the old religion of the *Arabs* was entirely *Sabian*; but I can offer so little accurate information concern-

ing the *Sabian* faith, or even the meaning of the word, that I dare not yet speak on the subject with confidence. This at least is certain, that the people of *Yemen* very soon fell into the common, but fatal, error of adoring the Sun and the Firmament; for even the *third* in descent from YOKTAN, who was consequently as old as NAHOR, took the surname of ABDUSHAMS, or *Servant of the Sun*; and his family, we are assured, paid particular honours to that luminary: other tribes worshipped the planets and fixed stars; but the religion of the poets at least seems to have been pure Theism; and this we know with certainty, because we have *Arabian* verses of unsuspected antiquity, which contain pious and elevated sentiments on the goodness and justice, the power and omnipresence, of ALLAH, or THE GOD. If an inscription, said to have been found on marble in *Yemen*, be authentick, the ancient inhabitants of that country preserved the religion of EBER, and professed a belief in miracles and a future state.

We are also told, that a strong resemblance may be found between the religions of the pagan *Arabs* and the *Hindus*; but, though this may be true, yet an agreement in worshipping the sun and stars will not prove an affinity between the two nations: the powers of God represented as female deities, the adoration of stones, and the name of the Idol WOOD, may lead us indeed to suspect, that some of the *Hindu* superstitions had found their way into *Arabia*; and, though we have no traces in *Arabian* History of such a conqueror or legislator as the great SESAC, who is said to have raised pillars in *Yemen* as well as at the mouth of the *Ganges*, yet, since we know, that SA'CYA is a title of BUDDHA, whom I suppose to be WODEN, since BUDDHA was not a native of *India*, and since the age of SESAC perfectly agrees with that of SA'CYA, we may form a plausible conjecture, that they were in fact the same person, who travelled eastward from *Ethiopia*, either as a warrior or as a lawgiver, about a thousand years before CHRIST, and whose rites

we now see extended as far as the country of *Nipon*, or, as the *Chinese* call it, *Japuen*, both words signifying the *Rising Sun*. SA'CYA may be derived from a word meaning *power*, or from another denoting *vegetable food*; so that this epithet will not determine, whether he was a hero or a philosopher; but the title BUDDHA, or *wise*, may induce us to believe, that he was rather a benefactor, than a destroyer, of his species: if his religion, however, was really introduced into any part of *Arabia*, it could not have been general in that country; and we may safely pronounce, that before the *Mohammedan* revolution, the noble and learned *Arabs* were Theists, but that a stupid idolatry prevailed among the lower orders of the people.

I find no trace among them, till their emigration, of any Philosophy but *Ethicks*; and even their system of morals, generous and enlarged as it seems to have been in the minds of a few illustrious chieftains, was on the whole miserably depraved for a century at least before MUHAMMED: the distinguishing virtues, which they boasted of inculcating and practising, were a contempt of riches and even of death; but, in the age of the *Seven Poets*, their liberality had deviated into mad profusion, their courage into ferocity, and their patience into an obstinate spirit of encountering fruitless dangers; but I forbear to expatiate on the manners of the *Arabs* in that age, because the poems, entitled *Almoâllakât*, which have appeared in our own language, exhibit an exact picture of their virtues and their vices, their wisdom and their folly; and show what may be constantly expected from men of open hearts and boiling passions, with no law to control, and little religion to restrain, them.

III. Few monuments of antiquity are preserved in *Arabia*, and of those few the best accounts are very uncertain; but we are assured, that inscriptions on rocks and mountains are still seen in various parts of the

Peninsula; which, if they are in any known language, and if correct copies of them can be procured, may be decyphered by easy and infallible rules.

The first ALBERT SCHULTENS has preserved in his Ancient Memorials of *Arabia*, the most pleasing of all his works, two little poems in an elegiack strain, which are said to have been found, about the middle of the seventh century, on some fragments of ruined edifices in *Hadrâ-mût* near *Aden*, and are supposed to be of an indefinite, but very remote, age. It may naturally be asked: In what characters were they written? Who decyphered them? Why were not the original letters preserved in the book, where the verses are cited? What became of the marbles, which *Abdurrahman*, then governor of *Yemen*, most probably sent to the *Khalifah* at *Bagdad*? If they be genuine, they prove the people of *Yemen* to have been ‘herdsmen and warriors, inhabiting a fertile and ‘well-watered country full of game, and near a fine sea abounding with ‘fish, under a monarchical government, and dressed in green silk or ‘vests of needlework,’ either of their own manufacture or imported from *India*. The measure of these verses is perfectly regular, and the dialect undistinguishable, at least by me, from that of *Kurajb*; so that, if the *Arabian* writers were much addicted to literary impostures, I should strongly suspect them to be modern compositions on the instability of human greatness, and the consequences of irreligion, illustrated by the example of the *Himyarick* princes; and the same may be suspected of the first poem quoted by SCHULTENS, which he ascribes to an *Arab* in the age of SOLOMON.

The supposed houses of the people called *Thamûd* are also still to be seen in excavations of rocks; and, in the time of TABRIZI the Grammarian, a castle was extant in *Yemen*, which bore the name of ALAD-BAT, an old bard and warrior, who first, we are told, formed his army, thence

thence called *álkhamis*, in *five* parts, by which arrangement he defeated the troops of *Himyar* in an expedition against *Sanâà*.

Of pillars erected by SESAC, after his invasion of *Yemen*, we find no mention in *Arabian* histories; and, perhaps, the story has no more foundation than another told by the *Greeks* and adopted by NEWTON, that the *Arabs* worshipped URANIA, and even BACCHUS by name, which, they say, means *great* in *Arabick*; but where they found such a word, we cannot discover: it is true, that *Beccah* signifies *a great and tumultuous crowd*, and, in this sense, is one name of the sacred city commonly called *Meccah*.

The *Câbah*, or *quadrangular* edifice at *Meccah*, is indisputably so ancient, that its original use, and the name of its builder, are lost in a cloud of idle traditions. An *Arab* told me gravely, that it was raised by ABRAHAM, who, as I assured him, was never there: others ascribe it, with more probability, to ISMAIL, or one of his immediate descendants; but whether it was built as a place of divine worship, as a fortress, as a sepulchre, or as a monument of the treaty between the old possessors of *Arabia* and the sons of KIDAR, antiquaries may dispute, but no mortal can determine. It is thought by RELAND to have been *the mansion of some ancient Patriarch, and revered on that account by his posterity*; but the room, in which we now are assembled, would contain the whole *Arabian* edifice; and, if it were large enough for the dwelling-house of a patriarchal family, it would seem ill adapted to the pastoral manners of the *Kedarites*: a *Persian* author insists, that the true name of *Meccah* is *Mahcadah*, or the *Temple of the Moon*; but, although we may smile at his etymology, we cannot but think it probable, that the *Câbah* was originally designed for religious purposes. Three couplets are cited in an *Arabick* History of this Building, which, from their extreme simplicity, have less appearance of imposture than
other

other verses of the same kind: they are ascribed to ASAD, a *Tebbi*, or king *by succession*, who is generally allowed to have reigned in *Yemen* an hundred and twenty-eight years before CHRIST's birth, and they commemorate, without any poetical imagery, the magnificence of the prince *in covering the holy temple with striped cloth and fine linen, and in making keys for its gate*. This temple, however, the sanctity of which was restored by MUHAMMED, had been strangely profaned at the time of his birth, when it was usual to decorate its walls with poems on all subjects, and often on the triumphs of *Arabian* gallantry and the praises of *Grecian* wine, which the merchants of *Syria* brought for sale into the deserts.

From the want of materials on the subject of *Arabian* antiquity, we find it very difficult to fix the Chronology of the *Ismailites* with accuracy beyond the time of ADNAN, from whom the impostor was descended in the *twenty-first* degree; and, although we have genealogies of ALKAMAH and other *Himyarick* bards as high as the *thirtieth* degree, or for a period of *nine hundred* years at least, yet we can hardly depend on them so far, as to establish a complete chronological system: by reasoning downwards, however, we may ascertain some points of considerable importance. The universal tradition of *Yemen* is, that YOKTAN, the son of EBER, first settled his family in that country; which settlement, by the computation admitted in *Europe*, must have been above *three thousand six hundred* years ago, and nearly at the time, when the *Hindus*, under the conduct of RAMA, were subduing the first inhabitants of these regions, and extending the *Indian* Empire from *Ayódhyà* or *Audh* as far as the isle of *Sinhal* or *Silàn*. According to this calculation, NUUMAN, king of *Yemen* in the *ninth* generation from EBER, was contemporary with JOSEPH; and, if a verse composed by that prince, and quoted by ABULFEDA, was really preserved, as it might easily have been, by oral tradition, it proves the great antiquity of

of the *Arabian* language and metre. This is a literal version of the couplet: ‘ When thou, who art in power, conductest affairs with
 ‘ courtesy, thou attainest the high honours of those, who are most ex-
 ‘ alted, and whose mandates are obeyed.’ We are told, that, from an elegant verb in this distich, the royal poet acquired the surname of *Almuâdfer*, or the *Courteous*. Now the reasons for believing this verse genuine are its brevity, which made it easy to be remembered, and the good sense comprized in it, which made it become proverbial; to which we may add, that the dialect is apparently old, and differs in three words from the idiom of *Hejâz*: the reasons for doubting are, that sentences and verses of indefinite antiquity are sometimes ascribed by the *Arabs* to particular persons of eminence; and they even go so far as to cite a pathetick elegy of ADAM himself on the death of ABEL, but in very good *Arabick* and correct measure. Such are the doubts, which necessarily must arise on such a subject; yet we have no need of ancient monuments or traditions to prove all that our analysis requires, namely, that the *Arabs*, both of *Hejâz* and *Yemen*, sprang from a stock entirely different from that of the *Hindus*, and that their first establishments in the respective countries, where we now find them, were nearly coeval.

I cannot finish this article without observing, that, when the King of *Denmark’s* ministers instructed the *Danish* travellers to collect *historical* books in *Arabick*, but not to busy themselves with procuring *Arabian poems*, they certainly were ignorant, that the only monuments of old *Arabian* History are collections of poetical pieces and the commentaries on them; that all memorable transactions in *Arabia* were recorded in verse; and that more certain facts may be known by reading the *Hamâsah*, the *Diwân* of *Hudhail*, and the valuable work of *Obaidullah*, than by turning over a hundred volumes in prose, unless indeed those poems are cited by the historians as their authorities.

IV. The manners of the *Hejázi Arabs*, which have continued, we know, from the time of *SOLOMON* to the present age, were by no means favourable to the cultivation of *arts*; and, as to *sciences*, we have no reason to believe, that they were acquainted with any; for the mere amusement of giving names to stars, which were useful to them in their pastoral or predatory rambles through the deserts, and in their observations on the weather, can hardly be considered as a material part of astronomy. The only arts, in which they pretended to excellence, (I except horsemanship and military accomplishments) were *poetry* and *rhetorick*: that we have none of their compositions in prose before the *Koràn*, may be ascribed, perhaps, to the little skill, which they seem to have had, in writing; to their predilection in favour of poetical measure, and to the facility, with which verses are committed to memory; but all their stories prove, that they were eloquent in a high degree, and possessed wonderful powers of speaking without preparation in flowing and forcible periods. I have never been able to discover, what was meant by their books, called *Rawásim*, but suppose, that they were collections of their common, or customary, law. Writing was so little practised among them, that their old poems, which are now accessible to us, may almost be considered as originally unwritten; and I am inclined to think, that *SAMUEL JOHNSON*'s reasoning, on the extreme imperfection of unwritten languages, was too general; since a language, that is only spoken, may nevertheless be highly polished by a people, who, like the ancient *Arabs*, make the improvement of their idiom a national concern, appoint solemn assemblies for the purpose of displaying their poetical talents, and hold it a duty to exercise their children in getting by heart their most approved compositions.

The people of *Yemen* had possibly more *mechanical arts*, and, perhaps, more *science*; but, although their ports must have been the emporia of considerable commerce between *Egypt* and *India* or part of *Persia*, yet
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we have no certain proofs of their proficiency in navigation or even in manufactures. That the *Arabs* of the desert had musical instruments, and names for the different notes, and that they were greatly delighted with melody, we know from themselves; but their lutes and pipes were probably very simple, and their musick, I suspect, was little more than a natural and tuneful recitation of their elegiack verses and love-songs. The singular property of their language, in shunning compound words, may be urged, according to BACON's idea, as a proof, that they had made no progress in *arts*, 'which require, says he, a variety of combinations to express the complex notions arising from them;' but the singularity may perhaps be imputed wholly to the genius of the language, and the taste of those, who spoke it; since the old *Germans*, who knew no art, appear to have delighted in compound words, which poetry and oratory, one would conceive, might require as much as any meaner art whatsoever.

So great, on the whole, was the strength of parts or capacity, either natural or acquired from habit, for which the *Arabs* were ever distinguished, that we cannot be surprized, when we see that blaze of genius, which they displayed, as far as their arms extended, when they burst, like their own dyke of *Arim*, through their ancient limits, and spread, like an inundation, over the great empire of *Iràn*. That a race of *Tázis*, or *Courfers* as the *Persians* call them, 'who drank the milk of camels and fed on lizards, should entertain a thought of subduing the kingdom of FERIDUN' was considered by the General of YEZDEGIRD's army as the strongest instance of fortune's levity and mutability; but FIRDAUSI, a complete master of *Asiatick* manners, and singularly impartial, represents the *Arabs*, even in the age of FERIDUN, as 'disclaiming any kind of dependence on that monarch, exulting in their liberty, delighting in eloquence, acts of liberality, and martial achievements, and thus making the whole earth, says the poet, red as

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‘ wine with the blood of their foes, and the air like a forest of canes with their tall spears.’ With such a character they were likely to conquer any country, that they could invade ; and, if ALEXANDER had invaded their dominions, they would unquestionably have made an obstinate, and probably a successful, resistance.

But I have detained you too long, gentlemen, with a nation, who have ever been my favourites, and hope at our next anniversary meeting to travel with you over a part of *Asia*, which exhibits a race of men distinct both from the *Hindus* and from the *Arabs*. In the mean time it shall be my care to superintend the publication of your transactions, in which, if the learned in *Europe* have not raised their expectations too high, they will not, I believe, be disappointed : my own imperfect essays I always except ; but, though my other engagements have prevented my attendance on your society for the greatest part of last year, and I have set an example of that freedom from restraint, without which no society can flourish, yet, as my few hours of leisure will now be devoted to *Sanscrit* literature, I cannot but hope, though my chief object be a knowledge of *Hindu* Law, to make some discovery in other sciences, which I shall impart with humility, and which you will, I doubt not, receive with indulgence.

THE FIFTH
ANNIVERSARY DISCOURSE,

DELIVERED 21 FEBRUARY, 1788.

BY

THE PRESIDENT.

AT the close of my last address to you, Gentlemen, I declared my design of introducing to your notice a people of *Asia*, who seemed as different in most respects from the *Hindus* and *Arabs*, as those two nations had been shown to differ from each other; I meant the people, whom we call *Tartars*: but I enter with extreme diffidence on my present subject, because I have little knowledge of the *Tartarian* dialects; and the gross errors of *European* writers on *Asiatick* literature have long convinced me, that no satisfactory account can be given of any nation, with whose language we are not perfectly acquainted. Such evidence, however, as I have procured by attentive reading and scrupulous inquiries, I will now lay before you, interspersing such remarks as I could not but make on that evidence, and submitting the whole to your impartial decision.

Conformably to the method before adopted in describing *Arabia* and *India*, I consider *Tartary* also, for the purpose of this discourse, on its most extensive scale, and request your attention, whilst I trace the largest boundaries that are assignable to it: conceive a line drawn from the mouth of the *Oby* to that of the *Dnieper*, and, bringing it back eastward across the *Euxine*, so as to include the peninsula of *Krim*, extend it along the foot of *Caucasus*, by the rivers *Cur* and *Aras*, to the *Caspian* lake, from the opposite shore of which follow the course of the *Jaihun* and the chain of *Caucasian* hills as far as those of *Imaus*: whence continue the line beyond the *Chinese* wall to the White Mountain and the country of *Yesso*; skirting the borders of *Persia*, *India*, *China*, *Corea*, but including part of *Russia*, with all the districts which lie between the Glacial sea, and that of *Japan*. M. DE GUIGNES, whose great work on the *Huns* abounds more in solid learning than in rhetorical ornaments, presents us, however, with a magnificent image of this wide region; describing it as a stupendous edifice, the beams and pillars of which are many ranges of lofty hills, and the dome, one prodigious mountain, to which the *Chinese* give the epithet of *Celestial*, with a considerable number of broad rivers flowing down its sides: if the mansion be so amazingly sublime, the land around it is proportionably extended, but more wonderfully diversified; for some parts of it are incrustated with ice, others parched with inflamed air and covered with a kind of lava; here we meet with immense tracts of sandy deserts and forests almost impenetrable; there, with gardens, groves, and meadows, perfumed with musk, watered by numberless rivulets, and abounding in fruits and flowers; and, from east to west, lie many considerable provinces, which appear as valleys in comparison of the hills towering above them, but in truth are the flat summits of the highest mountains in the world, or at least the highest in *Asia*. Near one fourth in latitude of this extraordinary region is in the same charming climate with *Greece*, *Italy*, and *Provence*; and another fourth in that

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f *England*, *Germany*, and the northern parts of *France* ; but the *Hyperborean* countries can have few beauties to recommend them, at least in the present state of the earth's temperature : to the south, on the frontiers of *Iràn* are the beautiful vales of *Soghd* with the celebrated cities of *Samarkand* and *Bokhàrà* ; on those of *Tibet* are the territories of *Cashghar*, *Khoten*, *Chegil* and *Khàtà*, all famed for perfumes and for the beauty of their inhabitants ; and on those of *China* lies the country of *Chín*, anciently a powerful kingdom, which name, like that of *Chàtà*, has in modern times been given to the whole *Chinese* empire, where such an appellation would be thought an insult. We must not omit the fine territory of *Tancùt*, which was known to the *Greeks* by the name of *Serica*, and considered by them as the farthest eastern extremity of the habitable globe.

Scythia seems to be the general name, which the ancient *Europeans* gave to as much as they knew of the country thus bounded and described ; but, whether that word be derived, as *PLINY* seems to intimate, from *Sacai*, a people known by a similar name to the *Greeks* and *Persians*, or, as *BRYANT* imagines, from *Cuthia*, or, as Colonel *WALLANCEY* believes, from words denoting *navigation*, or, as it might have been supposed, from a *Greek* root implying *wrath* and ferocity, this at least is certain, that as *India*, *China*, *Persia*, *Japan*, are not appellations of those countries in the languages of the nations, who inhabit them, so neither *Scythia* nor *Tartary* are names, by which the inhabitants of the country now under our consideration have ever distinguished themselves. *Tátàristàn* is, indeed, a word used by the *Persians* for the south-western part of *Scythia*, where the musk-deer is said to be common ; and the name *Tátàr* is by some considered as that of a particular tribe ; by others, as that of a small river only ; while *Uràn*, as opposed to *Iràn*, seems to mean the ancient dominion of *FRASIA* to the north and east of the *Oxus*. There is nothing more
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idle than a debate concerning names, which after all are of little consequence, when our ideas are distinct without them : having given therefore, a correct notion of the country, which I proposed to examine, I shall not scruple to call it by the general name of *Tartary* : though I am conscious of using a term equally improper in the pronunciation and the application of it.

Tartary then, which contained, according to PLINY, *an innumerable multitude of nations*, by whom the rest of *Asia* and all *Europe* has in different ages been over-run, is denominated, as various images have presented themselves to various fancies, the *great hive of the northern swarms*, the *nursery of irresistible legions*, and, by a stronger metaphor, the *foundery of the human race* ; but M. BAILLY, a wonderfully ingenious man and a very lively writer, seems first to have considered it as the *cradle of our species*, and to have supported an opinion, that the whole ancient world was enlightened by sciences brought from the most northern parts of *Scythia*, particularly 'from the banks of the *Jenissea*, or from the *Hyperborean* regions : all the fables of old *Greece*, *Italy*, *Persia*, *India*, he derives from the north ; and it must be owned, that he maintains his paradox with acuteness and learning. Great learning and great acuteness, together with the charms of a most engaging style, were indeed necessary to render even tolerable a system, which places an earthly paradise, the gardens of *Hesperus*, the islands of the *Macares*, the groves of *Elysium*, if not of *Eden*, the heaven of INDRA, the *Peristân*, or fairy-land, of the *Persian* poets, with its city of diamonds and its country of *Shâdcâm*, so named from *Pleasure* and *Love*, not in any climate, which the common sense of mankind considers as the seat of delights, but beyond the mouth of the *Oby*, in the Frozen Sea, in a region equalled only by that, where the wild imagination of DANTE led him to fix the worst of criminals in a state of punishment after death, and of which *he could not*, he says, *even think without shivering*. A very

very curious passage in a tract of PLUTARCH on *the figure in the Moon's orb*, naturally induced M. BAILLY to place *Ogygia* in the north, and he concludes that island, as others have concluded rather fallaciously, to be the *Atlantis* of PLATO, but is at a loss to determine, whether it was *Island* or *Grænlând*, *Spitzberg* or *New Zembla*: among so many charms it was difficult, indeed, to give a preference; but our philosopher, though as much perplexed by an option of beauties as the shepherd of *Ida*, seems on the whole to think *Zembla* the most worthy of the *golden fruit*; because it is indisputably an island, and lies opposite to a gulph near a continent, from which a great number of rivers descend into the ocean. He appears equally distressed among five nations, real and imaginary, to fix upon that, which the *Greeks* named *Atlantes*; and his conclusion in both cases must remind us of the showman at *Eton*, who, having pointed out in his box all the crowned heads of the world, and being asked by the schoolboys, who looked through the glass, which was the Emperor, which the Pope, which the Sultan, and which the Great Mogul, answered eagerly, ‘which you please, ‘young gentlemen, which you please.’ His letters, however, to VOLTAIRE, in which he unfolds his new system to his friend, whom he had not been able to convince, are by no means to be derided; and his general proposition, that arts and sciences had their source in *Tartary*, deserves a longer examination than can be given to it in this discourse: I shall, nevertheless, with your permission, shortly discuss the question under the several heads, that will present themselves in order.

Although we may naturally suppose, that the numberless communities of *Tartars*, some of whom are established in great cities, and some encamped on plains in ambulatory mansions, which they remove from pasture to pasture, must be as different in their features as in their dialects, yet, among those who have not emigrated into another country and mixed with another nation, we may discern a family likeness,

ness, especially in their eyes and countenance, and in that configuration of lineaments, which we generally call a *Tartar* face; but, without making anxious inquiries, whether all the inhabitants of the vast region before described have similar features, we may conclude from those, whom we have seen, and from the original portraits of TAIMU'R and his descendants, that the *Tartars* in general differ wholly in complexion and countenance from the *Hindus* and from the *Arabs*; an observation, which tends in some degree to confirm the account given by modern *Tartars* themselves of their descent from a common ancestor. Unhappily their lineage cannot be proved by authentick pedigrees or historical monuments; for all their writings extant, even those in the *Mogul* dialect, are long subsequent to the time of MUHAMMED; nor is it possible to distinguish their genuine traditions from those of the *Arabs*, whose religious opinions they have in general adopted. At the beginning of the *fourteenth* century, *Khwájah* RASHI'D, surnamed FAD'LU'LLAH, a native of *Kazvin*; compiled his account of the *Tartars* and *Mongals* from the papers of one PU'LA'D, whom the great grandson of HOLACU' had sent into *Tátáristàn* for the sole purpose of collecting historical information; and the commission itself shows, how little the *Tartarian* Princes really knew of their own origin. From this work of RASHI'D, and from other materials, ABU'LGHA'ZI', King of *Khwarezm*, composed in the *Mogul* language his *Genealogical History*, which, having been purchased from a merchant of *Bokhárá* by some *Swedish* officers, prisoners of war in *Siberia*, has found its way into several *European* tongues: it contains much valuable matter, but, like all MUHAMMEDAN histories, exhibits tribes or nations as individual sovereigns; and, if Baron DE TOUR had not strangely neglected to procure a copy of the *Tartarian* history, for the original of which he unnecessarily offered a large sum, we should probably have found, that it begins with an account of the deluge taken from the *Korán*, and proceeds to rank TURC, CHI'N, TATA'R, and MONGAL, among the
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sons of YA'FET. The genuine traditional history of the *Tartars*, in all the books that I have inspected, seems to begin with OGHU'Z, as that of the *Hindus* does with RA'MA: they place their miraculous Hero and Patriarch *four thousand* years before CHENGIZ KHA'N, who was born in the year 1164, and with whose reign their historical period commences. It is rather surprizing, that M. BAILLY, who makes frequent appeals to Etymological arguments, has not derived OGYGES from OGHU'Z and ATLAS from *Altai*, or the *Golden* mountain of *Tartary*: the *Greek* terminations might have been rejected from both words; and a mere transposition of letters is no difficulty with an Etymologist.

My remarks in this address, gentlemen, will be confined to the period preceding CHENGIZ; and, although the learned labours of M. DE GUIGNES and the fathers VISDELOU, DEMAILLA, and GAUBIL, who have made an incomparable use of their *Chinesè* literature, exhibit probable accounts of the *Tartars* from a very early age, yet the old historians of *China* were not only foreign, but generally hostile, to them, and for both those reasons, either through ignorance or malignity, may be suspected of misrepresenting their transactions: if they speak truth, the ancient history of the *Tartars* presents us, like most other histories, with a series of assassinations, plots, treasons, massacres, and all the natural fruits of selfish ambition. I should have no inclination to give you a sketch of such horrors, even if the occasion called for it; and will barely observe, that the first king of the *Hyumnu's* or *Huns* began' his reign, according to VISDELOU, about *three thousand five hundred and sixty years ago*, not long after the time fixed in my former discourses for the first regular establishments of the *Hindus* and *Arabs* in their several countries.

I. Our first inquiry, concerning the *languages* and *letters* of the *Tartars*, presents us with a deplorable void, or with a prospect as barren and dreary as that of their deserts. The *Tartars*, in general, had no literature : (in this point all authorities appear to concur) the *Tures* had no letters : the *Huns*, according to PROCOPIUS, had not even heard of them : the magnificent CHENGIZ, whose Empire included an area of near eighty square degrees, could find none of his own *Mongals*, as the best authors inform us, able to write his dispatches ; and TAI'MU'R, a savage of strong natural parts and passionately fond of hearing histories read to him, could himself neither write nor read. It is true, that IBNU ARABSHAH mentions a set of characters called *Dilberjîn*, which were used in *Khâtâ* : ' he had seen them, he says, and found them to ' consist of *forty-one* letters, a distinct symbol being appropriated to each ' long and short vowel, and to each consonant hard or soft, or otherwise ' varied in pronunciation ;' but *Khâtâ* was in southern *Tartary* on the confines of *India* ; and, from his description of the characters there in use, we cannot but suspect them to have been those of *Tibet*, which are manifestly *Indian*, bearing a greater resemblance to those of *Bengal* than to *Déwāṅgarî*. The learned and eloquent *Arab* adds, ' that the ' *Tatars* of *Khâtâ* write, in the *Dilberjîn* letters, all their tales and ' histories, their journals, poems, and miscellanies, their diplomas, records of state and justice, the laws of CHENGIZ, their publick registers and their compositions of every species :' if this be true, the people of *Khâtâ* must have been a polished and even a lettered nation ; and it may be true, without affecting the *general* position, that the *Tartars* were illiterate ; but IBNU ARABSHAH was a professed rhetorician, and it is impossible to read the original passage, without full conviction that his object in writing it, was to display his power of words in a flowing and modulated period. He says further, that in *Jaghatâi* the people of *Oighûr*, as he calls them, ' have a system of ' *fourteen* letters only, denominated from themselves *Oighûrî* ;' and those
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are the characters, which the *Mongals* are supposed by most authors to have borrowed: ABU'L'GHAZI' tells us only, that CHENGIZ employed the natives of *Eighùr* as excellent penmen; but the *Chinese* assert, that he was forced to employ them, because he had no writers at all among his natural-born subjects; and we are assured by many, that KUDLAIK-HA'N ordered letters to be invented for his nation by a *Tibetian*, whom he rewarded with the dignity of chief *Lama*. The small number of *Eighùr* letters might induce us to believe, that they were *Zend* or *Pahlavi*, which must have been current in that country, when it was governed by the sons of FERIDU'N; and, if the alphabet ascribed to the *Eighurians* by M. DES HAUTESRAYES be correct, we may safely decide, that in many of its letters it resembles both the *Zend* and the *Syriack*, with a remarkable difference in the mode of connecting them; but, as we can scarce hope to see a genuine specimen of them, our doubt must remain in regard to their form and origin: the page, exhibited by HYDE as *Khatayan* writing, is evidently a sort of broken *Cúfick*; and the fine manuscript at *Oxford*, from which it was taken, is more probably a *Mendeian* work on some religious subject than, as he imagined, a code of *Tartarian* laws. That very learned man appears to have made a worse mistake in giving us for *Mongal* characters a page of writing, which has the appearance of *Japanese*, or mutilated *Chinese*, letters.

If the *Tartars* in general, as we have every reason to believe, had no written memorials, it cannot be thought wonderful, that their *languages*, like those of *America*, should have been in perpetual fluctuation, and that more than fifty dialects, as HYDE had been credibly informed, should be spoken between *Moscow* and *China*, by the many kindred tribes or their several branches, which are enumerated by ABU'L'GHAZI'. What those dialects are, and whether they really sprang from a common stock, we shall probably learn from Mr. PALLAS, and other indefatigable men employed by the *Russian* court; and it is from the *Russians*,
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that we must expect the most accurate information concerning their *Asiatick* subjects: I persuade myself, that, if their inquiries be judiciously made and faithfully reported, the result of them will prove, that all the languages properly *Tartarian* arose from one common source; excepting always the jargons of such wanderers or mountaineers, as, having long been divided from the main body of the nation, must in a course of ages have framed separate idioms for themselves. The only *Tartarian* language, of which I have any knowledge, is the *Turkijb* of *Constantinople*, which is however so copious, that whoever shall know it perfectly, will easily understand, as we are assured by intelligent authors, the dialects of *Tátárisàn*; and we may collect from ABU'L-GHA'ZI', that he would find little difficulty in the *Calmac* and the *Mogul*: I will not offend your ears by a dry catalogue of similar words in those different languages; but a careful investigation has convinced me, that, as the *Indian* and *Arabian* tongues are severally descended from a common parent, so those of *Tartary* might be traced to one ancient stem essentially differing from the two others. It appears, indeed, from a story told by ABU'L-GHA'ZI', that the *Viràts* and the *Mongals* could not understand each other; but no more can the *Danes* and the *English*, yet their dialects beyond a doubt are branches of the same *Gothick* tree. The dialect of the *Moguls*, in which some histories of TAIMU'R and his descendants were originally composed, is called in *India*, where a learned native set me right when I used another word, *Turci*; not that it is precisely the same with the *Turkijb* of the *Othmánlu's*, but the two idioms differ, perhaps, less than *Swedish* and *German*, or *Spanish* and *Portuguese*, and certainly less than *Welsh* and *Irish*: in hope of ascertaining this point, I have long searched in vain for the original works ascribed to TAIMU'R and BA'BER; but all the *Moguls*, with whom I have conversed in this country, resemble the crow in one of their popular fables, who, having long affected to walk like a pheasant, was unable after all to acquire the gracefulness of that elegant

elegant bird, and in the mean time unlearned his own natural gait: they have not learned the dialect of *Persia*, but have wholly forgotten that of their ancestors. A very considerable part of the old *Tartarian* language, which in *Asia* would probably have been lost, is happily preserved in *Europe*; and, if the groundwork of the western *Turkish*, when separated from the *Persian* and *Arabick*, with which it is embellished, be a branch of the lost *Oghúzian* tongue, I can assert with confidence, that it has not the least resemblance either to *Arabick* or *Sanscrit*, and must have been invented by a race of men wholly distinct from the *Arabs* or *Hindus*. This fact alone oversets the system of M. BAILLY, who considers the *Sanscrit*, of which he gives in several places a most erroneous account, as ‘*a fine monument of his primeval Scythians, the preceptors of mankind and planters of a sublime philosophy even in India* ;’ for he holds it an incontestable truth, that *a language, which is dead, supposes a nation, which is destroyed*; and he seems to think such reasoning perfectly decisive of the question, without having recourse to astronomical arguments or the spirit of ancient institutions: for my part, I desire no better proof than that, which the language of the *Bráhmans* affords, of an immemorial and total difference between the *Savages of the Mountains*, as the old *Chinese* justly called the *Tartars*, and the studious, placid, contemplative inhabitants of these *Indian* plains.

II. The *geographical* reasoning of M. BAILLY may, perhaps, be thought equally shallow, if not inconsistent in some degree with itself. ‘An adoration of the sun and of fire, says he, must necessarily have arisen in a cold region: therefore, it must have been foreign to *India*, *Persia*, *Arabia*; therefore, it, must have been derived from *Tartary*.’ No man, I believe, who has travelled in winter through *Babàr*, or has even passed a cold season at *Calcutta* within the tropick, can doubt that the solar warmth is often desirable by all, and might have been considered as adorable by the ignorant, in these climates, or that the return
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of spring deserves all the salutations, which it receives from the *Persian* and *Indian* poets; not to rely on certain historical evidence, that AN-TARAH, a celebrated warrior and bard, actually perished with cold on a mountain of *Arabia*. To meet, however, an objection, which might naturally be made to the voluntary settlement, and amazing population, of his primitive race in the icy regions of the north, he takes refuge in the hypothesis of M. BUFFON, who imagines, that our whole globe was at first of a white heat, and has been gradually cooling from the poles to the equator; so that the *Hyperborean* countries had once a delightful temperature, and *Siberia* itself was even *hotter than the climate of our temperate zones*, that is, was in too hot a climate, by his first proposition, for the primary worship of the sun. That the temperature of countries has not sustained a change in the lapse of ages, I will by no means insist; but we can hardly reason conclusively from a variation of temperature to the cultivation and diffusion of science: if as many female elephants and tigresses, as we now find in *Bengal*, had formerly littered in the *Siberian* forests, and if their young, as the earth cooled, had sought a genial warmth in the climates of the south, it would not follow, that other savages, who migrated in the same direction and on the same account, brought religion and philosophy, language and writing, art and science, into the southern latitudes.

We are told by ABU'LGHA'ZI, that the primitive religion of human creatures, or the pure adoration of One Creator, prevailed in *Tartary* during the first generations from YA'FER, but was extinct before the birth of OGHU'Z, who restored it in his dominions; that, some ages after him, the *Mongals* and the *Turcs* relapsed into gross idolatry; but that CHENGIZ was a Theist, and, in a conversation with the *Mubammedan* Doctors, admitted their arguments for the being and attributes of the Deity to be unanswerable, while he contested the evidence of their Prophet's legation. From old *Grecian* authorities we learn, that
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the *Massagetae* worshipped the sun; and the narrative of an embassy from JUSTIN to the *Khákàn*, or Emperor, who then resided in a fine vale near the source of the *Irtish*, mentions the *Tartarian* ceremony of purifying the *Roman* Ambassadors by conducting them between two fires: the *Tartars* of that age are represented as adorers of the *four elements*, and believers in an invisible spirit, to whom they sacrificed bulls and rams. Modern travellers relate, that, in the festivals of some *Tartarian* tribes, they pour a few drops of a consecrated liquor on the statues of their Gods; after which an attendant sprinkles a little of what remains three times toward the south in honour of fire, toward the west and east in honour of water and air, and as often toward the north in honour of the earth, which contained the reliques of their deceased ancestors: now all this may be very true, without proving a national affinity between the *Tartars* and *Hindus*; for the *Arabs* adored the planets and the powers of nature, the *Arabs* had carved images, and made libations on a black stone, the *Arabs* turned in prayer to different quarters of the heavens; yet we know with certainty, that the *Arabs* are a distinct race from the *Tartars*; and we might as well infer, that they were the same people, because they had each their *Nomades*, or *wanderers for pasture*, and because the *Turcmans*, described by IBNU-ARABSH'AH and by him called *Tátár's*, are, like most *Arabian* tribes, pastoral and warlike, hospitable and generous, wintering and summering on different plains, and rich in herds and flocks, horses and camels; but this agreement in manners proceeds from the similar nature of their several deserts and their similar choice of a free rambling life, without evincing a community of origin, which they could scarce have had without preserving some remnant at least of a common language.

Many *Lamas*, we are assured, or Priests of BUDDHA, have been found settled in *Siberia*; but it can hardly be doubted, that the *Lamas* had

had travelled thither from *Tibet*, whence it is more than probable, that the religion of the *Bauddha's* was imported into southern, or *Chinese*, *Tartary*; since we know, that rolls of *Tibetian* writing have been brought even from the borders of the *Caspian*. The complexion of *BUDDHA* himself, which, according to the *Hindus*, was *between white and ruddy*, would perhaps have convinced *M. BAILLY*, had he known the *Indian* tradition, that the last great legislator and God of the East was a *Tartar*; but the *Chinese* consider him as a native of *India*, the *Bráhmans* insist, that he was born in a forest near *Gayá*, and many reasons may lead us to suspect, that his religion was carried from the west and the south to those eastern and northern countries, in which it prevails. On the whole we meet with few or no traces in *Scythia* of *Indian* rites and superstitions, or of that poetical mythology, with which the *Sanscrit* poems are decorated; and we may allow the *Tartars* to have adored the Sun with more reason than any southern people, without admitting them to have been the sole original inventors of that universal folly: we may even doubt the originality of their veneration for the *four elements*, which forms a principal part of the ritual introduced by *ZER'ATUSHT*, a native of *Rai* in *Persia*, born in the reign of *GUSHTASP*, whose son *PASH'UTEN* is believed by the *Párss's* to have resided long in *Tartary* at a place called *Cangidiz*, where a magnificent palace is said to have been built by the father of *CYRUS*, and where the *Persian* prince, who was a zealot in the new faith, would naturally have disseminated its tenets among the neighbouring *Tartars*.

Of any Philosophy, except natural Ethicks, which the rudest society requires and experience teaches, we find no more vestiges in *Asiatick Scythia* than in ancient *Arabia*; nor would the name of a Philosopher and a *Scythian* have been ever connected, if *ANACHARSIS* had not visited *Athens* and *Lydia* for that instruction, which his birthplace could

could not have afforded him : but ANACHARSIS was the son of a *Grecian* woman, who had taught him her language, and he soon learned to despise his own. He was unquestionably a man of a sound understanding and fine parts ; and, among the lively sayings, which gained him the reputation of a wit even in *Greece*, it is related by DIOGENES LAERTIUS, that, when an *Athenian* reproached him with being a *Scythian*, he answered : ‘ my country is, indeed, a disgrace to me, but thou art ‘ a disgrace to thy country.’ What his country was, in regard to manners and civil duties, we may learn from his fate in it ; for when, on his return from *Athens*, he attempted to reform it by introducing the wise laws of his friend SOLON, he was killed on a hunting party with an arrow shot by his own brother, a *Scythian* Chieftain. Such was the philosophy of M. BAILLY’s *Atlantes*, the first and most enlightened of nations ! We are assured, however, by the learned author of the *Dabistan*, that the *Tartars* under CHENGIZ and his descendants were lovers of truth ; and would not even preserve their lives by a violation of it : DE GUIGNES ascribes the same veracity, the parent of all virtues, to the *Huns* ; and STRABO, who might only mean to lash the *Greeks* by praising Barbarians, as HORACE extolled the wandering *Scythians* merely to satirize his luxurious countrymen, informs us, that the nations of *Scythia* deserved the praise due to wisdom, heroick friendship, and justice ; and this praise we may readily allow them on his authority, without supposing them to have been the preceptors of mankind.

As to the laws of ZAMOLXIS, concerning whom we know as little as of the *Scythian* DEUCALION, or of ABARIS the *Hyperborean*, and to whose story even HERODOTUS gave no credit, I lament, for many reasons, that, if ever they existed, they have not been preserved : it is certain, that a system of laws, called *Yâsfâc*, has been celebrated in *Tartary* since the time of CHENGIZ, who is said to have republished them in his empire, as his institutions were afterwards adopted and

enforced by TAIMU'R ; but they seem to have been a common, or traditionary, law, and were probably not reduced into writing, till CHENGIZ had conquered a nation, who were able to write.

III. Had the religious opinions and allegorical fables of the *Hindus* been actually borrowed from *Scythia*, travellers must have discovered in that country some ancient monuments of them, such as pieces of grotesque sculpture, images of the Gods and *Avatars*, and inscriptions on pillars or in caverns, analogous to those, which remain in every part of the western peninsula, or to those, which many of us have seen in *Babàr* and at *Bandras* ; but (except a few detached idols) the only great monuments of *Tartarian* antiquity are a line of ramparts on the west and east of the *Caspian*, ascribed indeed by ignorant *Muselmans* to *Yájúj* and *Májúj*, or *Gog* and *Magog*, that is to the *Scythians*, but manifestly raised by a very different nation in order to stop their predatory inroads through the passes of *Caucasus*. The *Chinese* wall was built or finished, on a similar construction and for a similar purpose, by an Emperor, who died only two hundred and ten years before the beginning of our era ; and the other mounds were very probably constructed by the old *Persians*, though, like many works of unknown origin, they are given to SECANDER, not the *Macedonian*, but a more ancient Hero supposed by some to have been JEMSHI'D. It is related, that pyramids and tombs have been found in *Tátáristàn*, or western *Scythia*, and some remnants of edifices in the lake *Saisan* ; that vestiges of a deserted city have been recently discovered by the *Russians* near the *Caspian* sea, and the Mountain of Eagles ; and that golden ornaments and utensils, figures of elks and other quadrupeds in metal, weapons of various kinds, and even implements for mining, but made of copper instead of iron, have been dug up in the country of the *Tshúdes* ; whence M. BAILLY infers, with great reason, the high antiquity of that people : but the high antiquity of the *Tartars*, and their establishment in that country

country near four thousand years ago, no man disputes ; we are inquiring into their ancient religion and philosophy, which neither ornaments of gold, nor tools of copper, will prove to have had an affinity with the religious rites and the sciences of *India*. The golden utensils might possibly have been fabricated by the *Tartars* themselves ; but it is possible too, that they were carried from *Rome* or from *China*, whence occasional embassies were sent to the Kings of *Eighur*. Towards the end of the tenth century the *Chinese* Emperor dispatched an ambassador to a Prince, named *ERSLA'N*, which, in the *Turkish* of *Constantinople*, signifies a *lion*, who resided near the Golden Mountain in the same station, perhaps, where the *Romans* had been received in the middle of the sixth century ; the *Chinese* on his return home reported the *Eighurs* to be a grave people, with fair complexions, diligent workmen, and ingenious artificers not only in gold, silver, and iron, but in jasper and fine stones ; and the *Romans* had before described their magnificent reception in a rich palace adorned with *Chinese* manufactures : but these times were comparatively modern ; and, even if we should admit, that the *Eighurs*, who are said to have been governed for a period of two thousand years by an *I'decut*, or sovereign of their own race, were in some very early age a literary and polished nation, it would prove nothing in favour of the *Huns*, *Turcs*, *Mongals*, and other savages to the north of *Pekin*, who seem in all ages, before *MUHAMMED*, to have been equally ferocious and illiterate.

Without actual inspection of the manuscripts, that have been found near the *Caspian*, it would be impossible to give a correct opinion concerning them ; but one of them, described as written on blue silky paper in letters of gold and silver not unlike *Hebrew*, was probably a *Tibetan* composition of the same kind with that, which lay near the source of the *Irtish*, and of which *CASSIANO*, I believe, made the first accurate version : another, if we may judge from the description of it,

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was probably modern *Turkish*; and none of them could have been of great antiquity.

IV. From ancient monuments, therefore, we have no proof, that the *Tartars* were themselves well-instructed, much less that they instructed the world; nor have we any stronger reason to conclude from their general manners and character, that they had made an early proficiency in *arts* and *sciences*: even of poetry, the most universal and most natural of the fine arts, we find no genuine specimens ascribed to them, except some horrible warsongs expressed in *Persian* by ALI' of *Yezd*, and possibly invented by him. After the conquest of *Persia* by the *Mongals*, their princes, indeed, encouraged learning, and even made astronomical observations at *Samarkand*; as the *Turcs* became polished by mixing with the *Persians* and *Arabs*, though *their very nature*, as one of their own writers confesses, *had before been like an incurable distemper, and their minds clouded with ignorance*: thus also the *Mancheu* monarchs of *China* have been patrons of the learned and ingenious, and the Emperor TIEN-LONG is, if he be now living, a fine *Chinese* poet. In all these instances the *Tartars* have resembled the *Romans*, who, before they had subdued *Greece*, were little better than tigers in war, and *Fauns* or *Sylvans* in science and art.

Before I left *Europe*, I had insisted in conversation, that the *Tuzuc*, translated by Major DAVY, was never written by TAIMU'R himself, at least not as CÆSAR wrote his commentaries, for one very plain reason, that no *Tartarian* king of his age could write at all; and, in support of my opinion, I had cited IBNU ARABSHA'H, who, though justly hostile to the savage, by whom his native city, *Damascus*, had been ruined, yet praises his talents and the real greatness of his mind, but adds: "He was wholly illiterate; he neither read nor wrote any thing; and he knew nothing of *Arabick*; though of *Persian*, *Turkish*,
" and

“ and the *Mogul* dialect, he knew as much as was sufficient for his
 “ purpose, and no more: he used with pleasure to hear histories read
 “ to him, and so frequently heard the same book, that he was able by
 “ memory to correct an inaccurate reader.” This passage had no effect
 on the translator, whom *great and learned men in India had assured*, it
 seems, *that the work was authentic*, by which he meant *composed by*
the conqueror himself: but the *great* in this country might have been
unlearned, or the *learned* might not have been *great* enough to answer
 any leading question in a manner that opposed the declared inclination
 of a *British* inquirer; and, in either case, since no witnesses are named,
 so general a reference to them will hardly be thought conclusive evidence.
 On my part, I will name a *Muselman*, whom we all know, and who
 has enough both of *greatness* and of *learning* to decide the question both
 impartially and satisfactorily: the *Nawwâb* MOZAFFER JANG informed
 me of his own accord, that no man of sense in *Hindustân* believed the
 work to have been composed by TAIMU'R, but that his favourite, sur-
 named HINDU SHA'H, was known to have written that book and others
 ascribed to his patron, after many confidential discourses with the *Emîr*,
 and, perhaps, nearly in the Prince's words as well as in his person; a
 story, which ALI' of *Yezd*, who attended the court of TAIMU'R, and
 has given us a flowery panegyrick instead of a history, renders highly
 probable, by confirming the latter part of the *Arabian* account, and by
 total silence as to the literary productions of his master. It is true,
 that a very ingenious but indigent native, whom DAVY supported, has
 given me a written memorial on the subject, in which he mentions
 TAIMU'R as the author of two works in *Turkish*; but the credit of his
 information is overset by a strange apocryphal story of a king of *Yemen*,
 who invaded, he says, the *Emîr's* dominions, and in whose library the
 manuscript was afterwards found, and translated by order of ALI'SHI'R,
 first minister of TAIMU'R's grandson; and Major DAVY himself, be-
 fore he departed from *Bengal*, told me, that he was greatly perplexed
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by finding in a very accurate and old copy of the *Tuzuc*, which he designed to republish with considerable additions, a particular account, written *unquestionably* by TAIMU'R, of *his own death*. No evidence, therefore, has been adduced to shake my opinion, that, the *Moguls* and *Tartars*, before their conquest of *India* and *Persia*, were wholly unlettered; although it may be possible, that, even without art or science, they had, like the *Huns*, both warriors and lawgivers in their own country some centuries before the birth of CHRIST.

If learning was ever anciently cultivated in the regions to the north of *India*, the seats of it, I have reason to suspect, must have been *Eighùr*, *Cashghar*, *Kbatà*, *Chín*, *Tancùt*, and other countries of *Chinese Tartary*, which lie between the thirty-fifth and forty-fifth degrees of northern latitude; but I shall, in another discourse, produce my reasons for supposing, that those very countries were peopled by a race allied to the *Hindus*, or enlightened at least by their vicinity to *India* and *China*; yet in *Tancùt*, which by some is annexed to *Tibet*, and even among its old inhabitants, the *Seres*, we have no certain accounts of uncommon talents or great improvements: they were famed, indeed, for the faithful discharge of moral duties, for a pacifick disposition, and for that longevity, which is often the reward of patient virtues and a calm temper; but they are said to have been wholly indifferent, in former ages, to the elegant arts and even to commerce; though FADLU'LLAH had been informed, that, near the close of the *thirteenth* century, many branches of natural philosophy were cultivated in *Cam-cheu*, then the metropolis of *Serica*.

We may readily believe those, who assure us, that some tribes of wandering *Tartars* had real skill in applying herbs and minerals to the purposes of medicine, and pretended to skill in magick; but the general character of their nation seems to have been this: they were
professed

professed hunters or fishers, dwelling on that account in forests or near great rivers, under huts or rude tents, or in waggons drawn by their cattle from station to station; they were dextrous archers, excellent horsemen, bold combatants, appearing often to flee in disorder for the sake of renewing their attack with advantage; drinking the milk of mares, and eating the flesh of colts; and thus in many respects resembling the old *Arabs*, but in nothing more than in their love of intoxicating liquors, and in nothing less than in a taste for poetry and the improvement of their language.

Thus has it been proved, and, in my humble opinion, beyond controversy, that the far greater part of *Asia* has been peopled and immemorially possessed by three considerable nations, whom, for want of better names, we may call *Hindus*, *Arabs*, and *Tartars*; each of them divided and subdivided into an infinite number of branches, and all of them so different in form and features, language, manners, and religion, that, if they sprang originally from a common root, they must have been separated for ages: whether more than three primitive stocks can be found, or, in other words, whether the *Chinese*, *Japanese*, and *Persians*, are entirely distinct from them, or formed by their intermixture, I shall hereafter, if your indulgence to me continue, diligently inquire. To what conclusions these inquiries will lead, I cannot yet clearly discern; but, if they lead to truth, we shall not regret our journey through this dark region of ancient history, in which, while we proceed step by step, and follow every glimmering of certain light, that presents itself, we must beware of those false rays and luminous vapours, which mislead *Asiatick* travellers by an appearance of water, but are found on a near approach to be deserts of sand.

THE SIXTH
DISCOURSE;

ON THE
PERSIANS,

DELIVERED 19 FEBRUARY, 1789.

GENTLEMEN,

I TURN with delight from the vast mountains and barren deserts of *Túràn*, over which we travelled last year with no perfect knowledge of our course, and request you now to accompany me on a literary journey through one of the most celebrated and most beautiful countries in the world; a country, the history and languages of which, both ancient and modern, I have long attentively studied, and on which I may without arrogance promise you more positive information, than I could possibly procure on a nation so disunited and so unlettered as the *Tartars*: I mean that, which *Europeans* improperly call *Persia*, the name of a single province being applied to the whole Empire of *Iràn*, as it is correctly denominated by the present natives of it, and by all the learned *Muselmans*, who reside in these *British* territories. To give you an idea of its largest boundaries, agreeably to my former mode of describing *India*, *Arabia*, and *Tartary*, between which it lies, let us

begin with the source of the great *Affyrian* stream, *Euphrates*, (as the *Greeks*, according to their custom, were pleased to miscall the *Forth*) and thence descend to its mouth in the Green Sea, or *Persian* Gulf, including in our line some considerable districts and towns on both sides the river; then coasting *Persia*, properly so named, and other *Iranian* provinces, we come to the delta of the *Sindhu* or *Indus*; whence ascending to the mountains of *Cashghar*, we discover its fountains and those of the *Jaibùn*, down which we are conducted to the *Caspian*, which formerly perhaps it entered, though it lose itself now in the sands and lakes of *Kbwárezm*: we next are led from the sea of *Khazar*, by the banks of the *Cur*, or *Cyrus*, and along the *Caucasian* ridges, to the shore of the *Euxine*, and thence, by the several *Grecian* seas, to the point, whence we took our departure, at no considerable distance from the *Mediterranean*. We cannot but include the lower *Asia* within this outline, because it was unquestionably a part of the *Persian*, if not of the old *Affyrian*, Empire; for we know, that it was under the dominion of *CAIKHOSRAU*; and *DIODORUS*, we find, asserts, that the kingdom of *Troas* was dependent on *Affyria*, since *PRIAM* implored and obtained succours from his Emperor *TEUTAMES*, whose name approaches nearer to *TAHMU'RAS*, than to that of any other *Affyrian* monarch. Thus may we look on *Iràn* as the noblest *Island*, (for so the *Greeks* and the *Arabs* would have called it), or at least as the noblest *peninsula*, on this habitable globe; and if *M. BAILLY* had fixed on it as the *Atlantis* of *PLATO*, he might have supported his opinion with far stronger arguments than any, that he has adduced in favour of *New Zembla*: if the account, indeed, of the *Atlantes* be not purely an *Egyptian*, or an *Utopian*, fable, I should be more inclined to place them in *Iràn* than in any region, with which I am acquainted.

It may seem strange, that the ancient history of so distinguished an Empire should be yet so imperfectly known; but very satisfactory reasons

reasons may be assigned for our ignorance of it: the principal of them are the superficial knowledge of the *Greeks* and *Jews*, and the loss of *Persian* archives or historical compositions. That the *Grecian* writers, before XENOPHON, had *no* acquaintance with *Persia*, and that *all* their accounts of it are *wholly* fabulous, is a paradox too extravagant to be seriously maintained; but their connection with it in war or peace had, indeed, been generally confined to bordering kingdoms under feudatory princes; and the first *Persian* Emperor, whose life and character they seem to have known with tolerable accuracy, was the great CYRUS, whom I call, without fear of contradiction, CAIK-NOSRAU; for I shall then only doubt that the KHOSRAU of FIRDAUSI' was the CYRUS of the first *Greek* historian, and the Hero of the oldest political and moral romance, when I doubt that LOUIS *Quatorze* and LEWIS *the Fourteenth* were one and the same *French* King: it is utterly incredible, that two different princes of *Persia* should each have been born in a foreign and hostile territory; should each have been doomed to death in his infancy by his maternal grandfather in consequence of portentous dreams, real or invented; should each have been saved by the remorse of his destined murderer, and should each, after a similar education among herdsmen, as the son of a herdsman, have found means to revisit his paternal kingdom, and having delivered it, after a long and triumphant war, from the tyrant, who had invaded it, should have restored it to the summit of power and magnificence. Whether so romantick a story, which is the subject of an Epick Poem, as majestick and entire as the *Iliad*, be historically true, we may feel perhaps an inclination to doubt; but it cannot with reason be denied, that the outline of it related to a single Hero, whom the *Asiatics*, conversing with the father of *European* history, described according to their popular traditions by his true name, which the *Greek* alphabet could not express: nor will a difference of names affect the question; since the *Greeks* had little regard for truth, which they *sacrificed* willingly

ingly to the *Graces* of their language, and the nicety of their ears ; and, if they could render foreign words melodious, they were never solicitous to make them exact ; hence they probably formed CAMBYSES from CA'MBAKHS^H, or *Granting desires*, a title rather than a name, and XERXES from SHI'RU'YI, a Prince and warrior in the *Sháhnámah*, or from SHI'RSA'H, which might also have been a title ; for the *Asiatick* Princes have constantly assumed new titles or epithets at different periods of their lives, or on different occasions ; a custom, which we have seen prevalent in our own times both in *Iràn* and *Hindústán*, and which has been a source of great confusion even in the scriptural accounts of *Babylonian* occurrences : both *Greeks* and *Jews* have in fact accommodated *Persian* names to their own articulation ; and both seem to have disregarded the native literature of *Iràn*, without which they could at most attain a general and imperfect knowledge of the country. As to the *Persians* themselves, who were contemporary with the *Jews* and *Greeks*, they must have been acquainted with the history of their own times, and with the traditional accounts of past ages ; but for a reason, which will presently appear, they chose to consider CAYU'MERS as the founder of the empire ; and, in the numerous distractions, which followed the overthrow of DA'RA', especially in the great revolution on the defeat of YEZDEGIRD, their civil histories were lost, as those of *India* have unhappily been, from the solicitude of the priests, the only depositaries of their learning, to preserve their books of law and religion at the expense of all others : hence it has happened, that nothing remains of genuine *Persian* history before the dynasty of SA'SA'N, except a few rustick traditions and fables, which furnished materials for the *Sháhnámah*, and which are still supposed to exist in the *Pahlavi* language. The annals of the *Pisbdádî*, or *Assyrian*, race must be considered as dark and fabulous ; and those of the *Cayání* family, or the *Medes* and *Persians*, as heroick and poetical ; though the lunar eclipses, said to be mentioned by PTOLEMY, fix the time
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of GUSHTASP, the prince, by whom ZERA'TUSHT was protected: of the *Parthian* kings descended from ARSHAC or ARSACES, we know little more than the names; but the *Sásánis* had so long an intercourse with the Emperors of *Rome* and *Byzantium*, that the period of their dominion may be called an historical age. In attempting to ascertain the beginning of the *Affyrian* empire, we are deluded, as in a thousand instances, by names arbitrarily imposed: it had been settled by chronologers, that the first monarchy established in *Persia* was the *Affyrian*; and NEWTON, finding some of opinion, that it rose in the first century after the Flood, but unable by his own calculations to extend it farther back than *seven hundred and ninety* years before CHRIST, rejected part of the old system and adopted the rest of it; concluding, that the *Affyrian* Monarchs began to reign about two hundred years after SOLOMON, and that, in all preceding ages, the government of *Iràn* had been divided into several petty states and principalities. Of this opinion I confess myself to have been; when, disregarding the wild chronology of the *Muselmàns* and *Gabrs*, I had allowed the utmost natural duration to the reigns of eleven *Pisbádádí* kings, without being able to add more than a hundred years to NEWTON's computation. It seemed, indeed, unaccountably strange, that, although ABRAHAM had found a regular monarchy in *Egypt*, although the kingdom of *Yemen* had just pretensions to very high antiquity, although the *Chinefe*, in the twelfth century before our era, had made approaches at least to the present form of their extensive dominion, and although we can hardly suppose the first *Indian* monarchs to have reigned less than three thousand years ago, yet *Persia*, the most delightful, the most compact, the most desirable country of them all, should have remained for so many ages unsettled and disunited. A fortunate discovery, for which I was first indebted to Mír MUHAMMED HUSAIN, one of the most intelligent *Muselmàns* in *India*, has at once dissipated the cloud,

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and cast a gleam of light on the primeval history of *Iràn* and of the human race, of which I had long despaired, and which could hardly have dawned from any other quarter.

The rare and interesting tract *on twelve different religions*, entitled the *Dabistàn*, and composed by a *Mohammedan* traveller, a native of *Cashmìr*, named MOHSAN, but distinguished by the assumed surname of FA'NI', or *Perishable*, begins with a wonderfully curious chapter on the religion of HU'SHANG, which was long anterior to that of ZERA'TUSHT, but had continued to be secretly professed by many learned *Persians* even to the author's time; and several of the most eminent of them, dissenting in many points from the *Gabrs*, and persecuted by the ruling powers of their country, had retired to *India*; where they compiled a number of books, now extremely scarce, which MOHSAN had perused, and with the writers of which, or with many of them, he had contracted an intimate friendship: from them he learned, that a powerful monarchy had been established for ages in *Iràn* before the accession of CAYU'MERS, that it was called the *Mahábádian* dynasty, for a reason which will soon be mentioned, and that many princes, of whom seven or eight only are named in the *Dabistàn*, and among them MAHBUL, or MAHA' BELI, had raised their empire to the zenith of human glory. If we can rely on this evidence, which to me appears unexceptionable, the *Iranian* monarchy must have been the oldest in the world; but it will remain dubious, to which of the three stocks, *Hindu*, *Arabian*, or *Tartar*, the first Kings of *Iràn* belonged, or whether they sprang from a *fourth* race distinct from any of the others; and these are questions, which we shall be able, I imagine, to answer precisely, when we have carefully inquired into the *languages* and *letters*, *religion* and *philosophy*, and incidentally into the *arts* and *sciences*, of the ancient *Persians*.

I. In the new and important remarks, which I am going to offer, on the ancient *languages* and *characters* of *Iràn*, I am sensible, that you must give me credit for many assertions, which on this occasion it is impossible to prove; for I should ill deserve your indulgent attention, if I were to abuse it by repeating a dry list of detached words, and presenting you with a vocabulary instead of a dissertation; but, since I have no system to maintain, and have not suffered imagination to delude my judgement; since I have habituated myself to form opinions of men and things from *evidence*, which is the only solid basis of *civil*, as *experiment* is of *natural*, knowledge; and since I have maturely considered the questions which I mean to discuss; you will not, I am persuaded, suspect my testimony, or think that I go too far, when I assure you, that I will assert nothing positively, which I am not able satisfactorily to demonstrate. When MUHAMMED was born, and ANU'SHI-RAVA'N, whom he calls *the Just King*, sat on the throne of *Persia*, two languages appear to have been generally prevalent in the great empire of *Iràn*; that of the *Court*, thence named *Deri*, which was only a refined and elegant dialect of the *Parsi*, so called from the province, of which *Sbiráz* is now the capital, and that of the learned, in which most books were composed, and which had the name of *Pahlavi*, either from the *heroes*, who spoke it in former times, or from *Pablu*, a tract of land, which included, we are told, some considerable cities of *Irak*: the ruder dialects of both were, and, I believe, still are, spoken by the rusticks in several provinces; and in many of them, as *Herát*, *Zábul*, *Sijlín* and others, distinct idioms were vernacular, as it happens in every kingdom of great extent. Besides the *Parsi* and *Pahlavi*, a very ancient and abstruse tongue was known to the priests and philosophers, called *the language of the Zend*, because a book on religious and moral duties, which they held sacred, and which bore that name, had been written in it; while the *Pázend*, or comment on that work, was composed in *Pahlavi*, as a more popular idiom; but a learned follower

of ZERA'TUSHT, named BAHMAN, who lately died at *Calcutta*, where he had lived with me as a *Persian* reader about three years, assured me, that the *letters* of his prophet's book were properly called *Zend*, and the language, *Avestà*, as the words of the *Véda's* are *Sanſcrit*, and the characters, *Nágarì*; or as the old *Saga's* and poems of *Iſeland* were expreſſed in *Runick* letters: let us however, in compliance with cuſtom, give the name of *Zend* to the ſacred language of *Persia*, until we can find, as we ſhall very ſoon, a fitter appellation for it. The *Zend* and the old *Pablavì* are almoſt extinct in *Iràn*; for among fix or ſeven thouſand *Gabrs*, who reſide chiefly at *Yezd*, and in *Cirmàn*, there are very few, who can read *Pablavì*, and ſcarce any, who even boaſt of knowing the *Zend*; while the *Pársì*, which remains almoſt pure in the *Sháhnámah*, has now become by the intermixture of numberleſs *Arabick* words, and many imperceptible changes, a new language exquisitely poliſhed by a ſeries of fine writers in proſe and verſe, and analogous to the different idioms gradually formed in *Europe* after the ſubverſion of the *Roman* empire: but with modern *Persian* we have no concern in our preſent inquiry, which I confine to the ages, that preceded the *Mohammedan* conqueſt. Having twice read the works of FIRDAUSI' with great attention, ſince I applied myſelf to the ſtudy of old *Indian* literature, I can aſſure you with confidence, that hundreds of *Pársì* nouns are pure *Sanſcrit*, with no other change than ſuch as may be obſerved in the numerous *bhàſhà's*, or vernacular dialects, of *India*; that very many *Persian* imperatives are the roots of *Sanſcrit* verbs; and that even the moods and tenſes of the *Persian* verb ſubſtantive, which is the model of all the reſt, are deducible from the *Sanſcrit* by an eaſy and clear analogy: we may hence conclude, that the *Pársì* was derived, like the various *Indian* dialects, from the language of the *Bráhmans*; and I muſt add, that in the pure *Persian* I find no trace of any *Arabian* tongue, except what proceeded from the known intercourse between the *Persians* and *Arabs*, eſpecially in the time of BAHRA'M, who was educated

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in *Arabia*, and whose *Arabick* verses are still extant, together with his heroick line in *Deri*, which many suppose to be the first attempt at *Persian* versification in *Arabian* metre: but, without having recourse to other arguments, *the composition of words*, in which the genius of the *Persian* delights, and which that of the *Arabick* abhors, is a decisive proof, that the *Pársi* sprang from an *Indian*, and not from an *Arabian*, stock. Considering languages as mere instruments of knowledge, and having strong reasons to doubt the existence of genuine books in *Zend* or *Pahlavì* (especially since the well-informed author of the *Dabíftàn* affirms the work of ZERA'TUSHIT to have been lost, and its place supplied by a recent compilation) I had no inducement, though I had an opportunity, to learn what remains of those ancient languages; but I often conversed on them with my friend BAHMAN, and both of us were convinced after full consideration, that the *Zend* bore a strong resemblance to *Sanscrit*, and the *Pahlavì* to *Arabick*. He had at my request translated into *Pahlavì* the fine inscription, exhibited in the *Gulíftàn*, on the diadem of CYRUS; and I had the patience to read the list of words from the *Páxend* in the appendix to the *Farbangi Jcháng'irì*: this examination gave me perfect conviction, that the *Pahlavì* was a dialect of the *Chaldaick*; and of this curious fact I will exhibit a short proof. By the nature of the *Chaldean* tongue most words ended in the first long vowel like *shemià*, heaven; and that very word, unaltered in a single letter, we find in the *Páxend*, together with *laillià*, night, *meyà*, water, *nirà*, fire, *matrà*, rain, and a multitude of others, all *Arabick* or *Hebrew* with a *Chaldean* termination: so *zamar*, by a beautiful metaphor from *pruning trees*, means in *Hebrew* to *compose verses*, and thence, by an easy transition, to *sing* them; and in *Pahlavì* we see the verb *zamrúniten*, to *sing*, with its forms *zamrúnemi*, I *sing*, and *zamrúnid*, he *sang*; the verbal terminations of the *Persian* being added to the *Chaldaick* root. Now all those words are integral parts of the language, not adventitious to it like the *Arabick* nouns and verbals engrafted on modern *Persian*; and

this distinction convinces me, that the dialect of the *Gabrs*, which they pretend to be that of ZERA'TUSHT, and of which BAHMAN gave me a variety of written specimens, is a late invention of their priests, or subsequent at least to the *Muselman* invasion; for, although it may be possible, that a few of their sacred books were preserved, as he used to assert, in sheets of lead or copper at the bottom of wells near *Rezd*, yet as the conquerors had not only a spiritual, but a political, interest in persecuting a warlike, robust, and indignant race of irreconcilable conquered subjects, a long time must have elapsed, before the hidden scriptures could have been safely brought to light, and few, who could perfectly understand them, must then have remained; but, as they continued to profess among themselves the religion of their forefathers, it became expedient for the *Mùbeds* to supply the lost or mutilated works of their legislator by new compositions, partly from their imperfect recollection, and partly from such moral and religious knowledge, as they gleaned, most probably, among the *Christians*, with whom they had an intercourse. One rule we may fairly establish in deciding the question, whether the books of the modern *Gabrs* were anterior to the invasion of the *Arabs*: when an *Arabick* noun occurs in them changed only by the spirit of the *Chaldean* idiom, as *wertà*, for *werd*, a rose, *dabà*, for *dhahab*, gold, or *demàn*, for *zemàn*, time, we may allow it to have been ancient *Pahlavì*; but, when we meet with verbal nouns or infinitives, evidently formed by the rules of *Arabian* grammar, we may be sure, that the phrases, in which they occur, are comparatively modern; and not a single passage, which BAHMAN produced from the books of his religion, would abide this test.

We come now to the language of the *Zend*; and here I must impart a discovery, which I lately made, and from which we may draw the most interesting consequences. M. ANQUETIL, who had the merit of undertaking a voyage to *India*, in his earliest youth, with no other view than

than to recover the writings of ZERA'TUSHT, and who would have acquired a brilliant reputation in *France*, if he had not sullied it by his immoderate vanity and virulence of temper, which alienated the good will even of his own countrymen, has exhibited in his work, entitled *Zendvestâ*, two vocabularies in *Zend* and *Pahlavi*, which he had found in an approved collection of *Rawdyât*, or *Traditional Pieces*, in modern *Persian*: of his *Pahlavi* no more needs be said, than that it strongly confirms my opinion concerning the *Chaldaick* origin of that language; but, when I perused the *Zend* glossary, I was inexpressibly surprized to find, that six or seven words in ten were pure *Sanskrit*, and even some of their inflexions formed by the rules of the *Vyâcaran*; as *yushmâcam*, the genitive plural of *yushmad*. Now M. ANQUETIL most certainly, and the *Persian* compiler most probably, had no knowledge of *Sanskrit*; and could not, therefore, have invented a list of *Sanskrit* words: it is, therefore, an authentick list of *Zend* words, which had been preserved in books or by tradition; and it follows, that the language of the *Zend* was at least a dialect of the *Sanskrit*, approaching perhaps as nearly to it as the *Prâcrit*, or other popular idioms, which we know to have been spoken in *India* two thousand years ago. From all these facts it is a necessary consequence, that the oldest discoverable languages of *Persia* were *Chaldaick* and *Sanskrit*; and that, when they had ceased to be vernacular, the *Pahlavi* and *Zend* were deduced from them respectively, and the *Pârsi* either from the *Zend*, or immediately from the dialect of the *Brâhmans*; but all had perhaps a mixture of *Tartarian*; for the best lexicographers assert, that numberless words in ancient *Persian* are taken from the language of the *Cimmerians*, or the *Tartars* of *Kipchik*; so that the *three* families, whose lineage we have examined in former discourses, had left visible traces of themselves in *Irân*, long before the *Tartars* and *Arabs* had rushed from their deserts, and returned to that very country, from which in all probability they originally proceeded, and which the *Hindus* had abandoned in an earlier age, with

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positive commands from their legislators to revisit it no more. I close this head with observing, that no supposition of a mere political or commercial intercourse between the different nations will account for the *Sanscrit* and *Chaldaick* words, which we find in the old *Persian* tongues; because they are, in the first place, too numerous to have been introduced by such means, and, secondly, are not the names of exotick animals, commodities, or arts, but those of material elements, parts of the body, natural objects and relations, affections of the mind, and other ideas common to the whole race of man.

If a nation of *Hindus*, it may be urged, ever possessed and governed the country of *Iràn*, we should find on the very ancient ruins of the temple or palace, now called *the throne of JEMSHI'D*, some inscriptions in *Dévanágarì*, or at least in the characters on the stones at *Elephanta*, where the sculpture is unquestionably *Indian*, or in those on the *Staff of FI'RÚ'Z SHA'H*, which exist in the heart of *India*; and such inscriptions we probably should have found, if that edifice had not been erected after the migration of the *Bráhmans* from *Iràn*, and the violent schism in the *Persian* religion, of which we shall presently speak; for, although the popular name of the building at *Istakhr*, or *Persépolis*, be no certain proof that it was raised in the time of *JEMSHI'D*, yet such a fact might easily have been preserved by tradition, and we shall soon have abundant evidence, that the temple was posteriour to the reign of the *Hindu* monarchs: the *cypresses* indeed, which are represented with the figures in procession, might induce a reader of the *Sháhnámah* to believe, that the sculptures related to the new faith introduced by *ZERA'TUSHT*; but, as a cypress is a beautiful ornament, and as many of the figures appear inconsistent with the reformed adoration of fire, we must have recourse to stronger proofs, that the *Takhti JEMSHI'D* was erected after *CAYU'MERS*. The building has lately been visited, and the characters on it examined, by Mr. *FRANCKLIN*; from whom we learn, that *NIEBUHR* has

has delineated them with great accuracy : but without such testimony I should have suspected the correctness of the delineation ; because the *Danish* traveller has exhibited two inscriptions in modern *Persian*, and one of them from the same place, which cannot have been exactly transcribed : they are very elegant verses of NIZA'MI' and SADI' *on the instability of human greatness*, but so ill engraved or so ill copied, that, if I had not had them nearly by heart, I should not have been able to read them ; and M. ROUSSEAU of *Isfahàn*, who translated them with shameful inaccuracy, must have been deceived by the badness of the copy ; or he never would have created a new king WAKAM, by forming one word of JEM and the particle prefixed to it. Assuming, however, that we may reason as conclusively on the characters published by NIEBUHR, as we might on the monuments themselves, were they now before us, we may begin with observing, as CHARDIN had observed on the very spot, that they bear no resemblance whatever to the letters used by the *Gabrs* in their copies of the *Vendidad* : this I once urged, in an amicable debate with BAHMAN, as a proof, that the *Zend* letters were a modern invention ; but he seemed to hear me without surprise, and insisted, that the letters, to which I alluded, and which he had often seen, were monumental characters never used in books, and intended either to conceal some religious mysteries from the vulgar, or to display the art of the sculptor, like the embellished *Cúfick* and *Núgarè* on several *Arabian* and *Indian* monuments. He wondered, that any man could seriously doubt the antiquity of the *Pablavè* letters ; and in truth the inscription behind the horse of *Ruſtam*, which NIEBUHR has also given us, is apparently *Pablavè*, and might with some pains be decyphered : that character was extremely rude, and seems to have been written, like the *Roman* and the *Arabick*, in a variety of hands ; for I remember to have examined a rare collection of old *Persian* coins in the Museum of the great Anatomist, WILLIAM HUNTER, and, though I believed the legends to be *Pablavè*, and had no doubt, that they were coins of *Par-*
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thian kings, yet I could not read the inscriptions without wasting more time, than I had then at command, in comparing the letters and ascertaining the proportions, in which they severally occurred. The gross *Pahlavî* was improved by ZERA'TUSHT or his disciples into an elegant and perspicuous character, in which the *Zendvestâ* was copied; and both were written from the right hand to the left like other *Chaldaick* alphabets; for they are manifestly both of *Chaldean* origin; but the *Zend* has the singular advantage of expressing all the long and short vowels, by distinct marks, in the body of each word, and all the words are distinguished by full points between them; so that, if modern *Persian* were unmixed with *Arabick*, it might be written in *Zend* with the greatest convenience, as any one may perceive by copying in that character a few pages of the *Shâbnâmâh*. As to the unknown inscriptions in the palace of JEMSHI'D, it may reasonably be doubted, whether they contain a system of letters, which any nation ever adopted: in *five* of them the letters, which are separated by points, may be reduced to forty, at least I can distinguish no more essentially different; and they all seem to be regular variations and compositions of a straight line and an angular figure like the head of a javelin, or a leaf (to use the language of botanists) *bearded and lanced*. Many of the *Runick* letters appear to have been formed of similar elements; and it has been observed, that the writing at *Persepolis* bears a strong resemblance to that, which the *Irish* call *Ogham*: the word *Agam* in *Sanscrit* means *mysterious knowledge*; but I dare not affirm, that the two words had a common origin, and only mean to suggest, that, if the characters in question be really alphabetical, they were probably secret and sacerdotal, or a mere cypher, perhaps, of which the priests only had the key. They might, I imagine, be decyphered, if the language were certainly known; but, in all the other inscriptions of the same sort, the characters are too complex, and the variations of them too numerous, to admit an opinion, that they could be symbols of articulate sounds;

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for even the *Nâgarî* system, which has more distinct letters than any known alphabet, consists only of forty-nine simple characters, two of which are mere substitutions, and four of little use in *Sanscrit* or in any other language; while the more complicated figures, exhibited by NIEBUHR, must be as numerous at least as the *Chinese* keys, which are the signs of *ideas* only, and some of which resemble the old *Persian* letters at *Istakhr*: the *Danish* traveller was convinced from his own observation, that they were written from the left hand, like all the characters used by *Hindu* nations; but I must leave this dark subject, which I cannot illuminate, with a remark formerly made by myself, that the square *Chaldaick* letters, a few of which are found on the *Persian* ruins, appear to have been originally the same with the *Dévanâgarî*, before the latter were enclosed, as we now see them, in angular frames.

II. The primeval religion of *Irân*, if we rely on the authorities adduced by MOHSANI FA'NI', was that, which NEWTON calls the oldest (and it may justly be called the noblest) of all religions; “ a firm belief, that One Supreme God made the world by his power, and continually governed it by his providence; a pious fear, love, and adoration of Him; a due reverence for parents and aged persons; a fraternal affection for the whole human species, and a compassionate tenderness even for the brute creation.” A system of devotion so pure and sublime could hardly among mortals be of long duration; and we learn from the *Dabistân*, that the popular worship of the *Irânians* under HU'SHANG was purely *Sabian*; a word, of which I cannot offer any certain etymology, but which has been deduced by grammarians from *Sabû*, a *host*, and, particularly the *host of heaven*, or the *celestial bodies*, in the adoration of which the *Sabian* ritual is believed to have consisted: there is a description, in the learned work just mentioned, of the several *Persian* temples dedicated to the Sun and Planets, of the images adored in them, and of the magnificent processions to them on
prescribed

prescribed festivals, one of which is probably represented by sculpture in the ruined city of JEMSHI'D ; but the planetary worship in *Persia* seems only a part of a far more complicated religion, which we now find in these *Indian* provinces ; for MOHSAN assures us, that, in the opinion of the best informed *Persians*, who professed the faith of HU'SHANG, distinguished from that of ZERA'TUSHT, the first monarch of *Iran* and of the whole earth was MAHA'BA'D, a word apparently *Sanscrit*, who divided the people into four orders, the *religious*, the *military*, the *commercial*, and the *servile*, to which he assigned names unquestionably the same in their origin with those now applied to the four primary classes of the *Hindus*. They added, that He received from the creator, and promulgated among men, *a sacred book in a heavenly language*, to which the *Muselman* author gives the *Arabick* title of *defâtir*, or regulations, but the original name of which he has not mentioned ; and that *fourteen* MAHA'BA'DS had appeared or would appear in human shapes for the government of this world : now when we know, that the *Hindus* believe in *fourteen* MENU'S, or celestial personages with similar functions, the *first* of whom left a book of *regulations*, or *divine ordinances*, which they hold equal to the *Vêda*, and the language of which they believe to be that of the Gods, we can hardly doubt, that the first corruption of the purest and oldest religion was the system of *Indian* Theology, invented by the *Brâhmans* and prevalent in these territories, where the book of MAHA'BA'D or MENU is at this hour the standard of all religious and moral duties. The accession of CAYUMERS to the throne of *Persia*, in the eighth or ninth century before CHRIST, seems to have been accompanied by a considerable revolution both in government and religion : he was most probably of a different race from the *Mahábádians*, who preceded him, and began perhaps the new system of national faith, which HU'SHANG, whose name it bears, completed ; but the reformation was partial ; for, while they rejected the complex polytheism of their predecessors, they retained the laws of MAHA'BA'D, with a superstitious

stitious veneration for the sun, the planets, and fire; thus resembling the *Hindu* sects, called *Saura's* and *Ságnica's*, the second of which is very numerous at *Banares*, where many *agnibótra's* are continually blazing, and where the *Ságnica's*, when they enter on their sacerdotal office, kindle, with two pieces of the hard wood *Scmí*, a fire which they keep lighted through their lives for their nuptial ceremony, the performance of solemn sacrifices, the obsequies of departed ancestors, and their own funeral pile. This remarkable rite was continued by ZERA'TUSHT; who reformed the old religion by the addition of genii, or angels, presiding over months and days, of new ceremonies in the veneration shown to fire, of a new work, which he pretended to have received from heaven, and, above all, by establishing the actual adoration of One Supreme Being: he was born, according to MOHSAN, in the district of *Rai*; and it was He, not, as AMMIANUS asserts, his protector GUSHTASB, who travelled into *India*, that he might receive information from the *Bráhmans* in theology and ethicks. It is barely possible, that PYTHAGORAS knew him in the capital of *Irak*; but the *Grecian* sage must then have been far advanced in years, and we have no certain evidence of an intercourse between the two philosophers. The reformed religion of *Persia* continued in force, till that country was subdued by the *Muselmans*; and, without studying the *Zend*, we have ample information concerning it in the modern *Persian* writings of several, who professed it. BAHMAN always named ZERA'TUSHT, with reverence; but he was in truth a pure Theist, and strongly disclaimed any adoration of the *fire* or other elements: he denied, that the doctrine of two coeval principles, supremely good and supremely bad, formed any part of his faith; and he often repeated with emphasis the verses of FIRDAUSI on the prostration of CYRUS and his paternal grandfather before the blazing altar: "Think not, that they were adorers of fire; for
 " that element was only an exalted object, on the lustre of which they
 " fixed their eyes; they humbled themselves a whole week before

“ GOD; and, if thy understanding be ever so little exerted, thou must “ acknowledge thy dependence on the being supremely pure.” In a story of SADI, near the close of his beautiful *Bûssân*, concerning the idol of SO'MANA'T'H, or MAHA'DE'VA, he confounds the religion of the *Hindus* with that of the *Gabrs*, calling the *Brâhmans* not only *Moghs*, (which might be justified by a passage in the *Mesnavi*) but even readers of the *Zend* and *Pâzend*: now, whether this confusion proceeded from real or pretended ignorance, I cannot decide, but am as firmly convinced, that the doctrines of the *Zend* were distinct from those of the *Vêda*, as I am that the religion of the *Brâhmans*, with whom we converse every day, prevailed in *Persia* before the accession of CAYU'MERS, whom the *Pârsi's*, from respect to his memory, consider as the first of men, although they believe in an *universal deluge* before his reign.

With the religion of the old *Persians* their *philosophy* (or as much as we know of it) was intimately connected; for they were assiduous observers of the luminaries, which they adored, and established, according to MOHSAN, who confirms in some degree the fragments of BEROSUS, a number of artificial cycles with distinct names, which seem to indicate a knowledge of the period, in which the equinoxes appear to revolve: they are said also to have known the most wonderful powers of nature, and thence to have acquired the fame of magicians and enchanter; but I will only detain you with a few remarks on that metaphysical theology, which has been professed immemorially by a numerous sect of *Persians* and *Hindus*, was carried in part into *Greece*, and prevails even now among the learned *Muselmans*, who sometimes avow it without reserve. The modern philosophers of this persuasion are called *Sûfi's*, either from the *Greek* word for a *sage*, or from the *woollen* mantle, which they used to wear in some provinces of *Persia*: their fundamental tenets are, that nothing exists absolutely but God: that

that the human soul is an emanation from his essence, and, though divided for a time from its heavenly source, will be finally re-united with it; that the highest possible happiness will arise from its reunion, and that the chief good of mankind, in this transitory world, consists in as perfect an *union* with the Eternal Spirit as the incumbrances of a mortal frame will allow; that, for this purpose, they should break all *connexion* (or *ta'alluk*, as they call it), with extrinsic objects, and pass through life without *attachments*, as a swimmer in the ocean strikes freely without the impediment of clothes; that they should be straight and free as the cypress, whose fruit is hardly perceptible, and not sink under a load, like fruit-trees *attached* to a trellis; that, if mere earthly charms have power to influence the soul, the *idea* of celestial beauty must overwhelm it in extatick delight; that, for want of apt words to express the divine perfections and the ardour of devotion, we must borrow such expressions as approach the nearest to our ideas, and speak of *Beauty* and *Love* in a transcendent and mystical sense; that, like a *reed* torn from its native bank, like *wax* separated from its delicious honey, the soul of man bewails its disunion with *melancholy music*, and sheds burning tears, like the lighted taper, waiting passionately for the moment of its extinction, as a disengagement from earthly trammels, and the means of returning to its Only Beloved. Such in part (for I omit the minuter and more subtil metaphysics of the *Sûfîs*, which are mentioned in the *Dabistân*) is the wild and enthusiastick religion of the modern *Persian* poets, especially of the sweet HAFIZ and the great *Maulavî*: such is the system of the *Pédanti* philosophers and best lyrick poets of *India*; and, as it was a system of the highest antiquity in both nations, it may be added to the many other proofs of an immemorial affinity between them.

III. On the ancient *monuments* of *Persian* sculpture and architecture we have already made such observations, as were sufficient for our purpose; nor will you be surprized at the diversity between the figures at
Elephanta,

Elephanta, which are manifestly *Hindu*, and those at *Persepolis*, which are merely *Sabian*, if you concur with me in believing, that the *Takhti Jemshid* was erected after the time of CAYU'MERS, when the *Bráhmans* had migrated from *Iràn*, and when their intricate mythology had been superseded by the simpler adoration of the planets and of fire.

IV. As to the *sciences* or *arts* of the old *Persians*, I have little to say; and no complete evidence of them seems to exist. MOHSAN speaks more than once of ancient verses in the *Pahlavì* language; and BAHMAN assured me, that some scanty remains of them had been preserved: their musick and painting, which NIZA'MI celebrated, have irrecoverably perished; and in regard to MA'NI', the painter and impostor, whose book of drawings called *Artang*, which he pretended to be divine, is supposed to have been destroyed by the *Chinese*, in whose dominions he had sought refuge, the whole tale is too modern to throw any light on the questions before us concerning the origin of nations and the inhabitants of the primitive world.

Thus has it been proved by clear evidence and plain reasoning, that a powerful monarchy was established in *Iràn* long before the *Assyrian*, or *Pishdádì*, government; that it was in truth a *Hindu* monarchy, though, if any chuse to call it *Cusian*, *Casdean*, or *Scythian*, we shall not enter into a debate on mere names; that it subsisted many centuries, and that its history has been ingrafted on that of the *Hindus*, who founded the monarchies of *Ayódhyà* and *Indraprestha*; that the language of the first *Persian* empire was the mother of the *Sanscrit*, and consequently of the *Zend*, and *Parfi*, as well as of *Greek*, *Latin*, and *Gothick*; that the language of the *Assyrians* was the parent of *Chaldaick* and *Pahlavì*, and that the primary *Tartarian* language also had been current in the same empire; although, as the *Tartars* had no books or even letters, we cannot with certainty trace their unpolished and variable idioms.

idioms. We discover, therefore in *Persia*, at the earliest dawn of history, the *three* distinct races of men, whom we described on former occasions as possessors of *India*, *Arabia*, *Tartary*; and, whether they were collected in *Iràn* from distant regions, or diverged from it, as from a common centre, we shall easily determine by the following considerations. Let us observe in the first place the central position of *Iràn*, which is bounded by *Arabia*, by *Tartary*, and by *India*; whilst *Arabia* lies contiguous to *Iràn* only, but is remote from *Tartary*, and divided even from the skirts of *India* by a considerable gulf; no country, therefore, but *Persia* seems likely to have sent forth its colonies to all the kingdoms of *Asia*: the *Bráhmans* could never have migrated from *India* to *Iràn*, because they are expressly forbidden by their oldest existing laws to leave the region, which they inhabit at this day; the *Arabs* have not even a tradition of an emigration into *Persia* before MOHAMMED, nor had they indeed any inducement to quit their beautiful and extensive domains; and, as to the *Tartars*, we have no trace in history of their departure from their plains and forests, till the invasion of the *Medes*, who, according to etymologists, were the sons of MADAI, and even they were conducted by princes of an *Assyrian* family. The *three* races, therefore, whom we have already mentioned, (and more than three we have not yet found) migrated from *Iràn*, as from their common country; and thus the *Saxon* chronicle, I presume from good authority, brings the first inhabitants of *Britain* from *Armenia*; while a late very learned writer concludes, after all his laborious researches, that the *Goths* or *Scythians* came from *Persia*; and another contends with great force, that both the *Irish* and old *Britons* proceeded severally from the borders of the *Caspian*; a coincidence of conclusions from different media by persons wholly unconnected, which could scarce have happened, if they were not grounded on solid principles. We may therefore hold this proposition firmly established, that *Iràn*, or *Persia* in its largest sense, was the true centre of population, of knowledge, of languages,

languages, and of arts ; which, instead of travelling westward only, as it has been fancifully supposed, or eastward, as might with equal reason have been asserted, were expanded in all directions to all the regions of the world, in which the *Hindu* race had settled under various denominations : but, whether *Asia* has not produced other races of men, distinct from the *Hindus*, the *Arabs*, or the *Tartars*, or whether any apparent diversity may not have sprung from an intermixture of those three in different proportions, must be the subject of a future inquiry. There is another question of more immediate importance, which you, gentlemen, only can decide : namely, “ by what means we can preserve “ our Society from dying gradually away, as it has advanced gradually “ to its present (shall I say flourishing or languishing ?) state.” It has subsisted five years without any expense to the members of it, until the first volume of our Transactions was published ; and the price of that large volume, if we compare the different values of money in *Bengal* and in *England*, is not more than equal to the *annual* contribution towards the charges of the Royal Society by each of its fellows, who may not have chosen to compound for it on his admission : this I mention, not from an idea that any of us could object to the purchase of one copy at least, but from a wish to inculcate the necessity of our common exertions in promoting the sale of the work both here and in *London*. In vain shall we meet, as a literary body, if our meetings shall cease to be supplied with original dissertations and memorials ; and in vain shall we collect the most interesting papers, if we cannot publish them occasionally without exposing the Superintendents of the Company’s press, who undertake to print them at their own hazard, to the danger of a considerable loss : by united efforts the *French* have compiled their stupendous repositories of universal knowledge ; and by united efforts only can we hope to rival them, or to diffuse over our own country and the rest of *Europe* the lights attainable by our *Asiatick Researches*.

THE SEVENTH
ANNIVERSARY DISCOURSE,

DELIVERED 25 FEBRUARY, 1790.

BY

THE PRESIDENT.

GENTLEMEN,

ALTHOUGH we are at this moment considerably nearer to the frontier of *China* than to the farthest limit of the *British* dominions in *Hindustán*, yet the first step, that we shall take in the philosophical journey, which I propose for your entertainment at the present meeting, will carry us to the utmost verge of the habitable globe known to the best geographers of old *Greece* and *Egypt*; beyond the boundary of whose knowledge we shall discern from the heights of the northern mountains an empire nearly equal in surface to a square of fifteen degrees; an empire, of which I do not mean to assign the precise limits, but which we may consider, for the purpose of this dissertation, as embraced on two sides by *Tartary* and *India*, while the ocean separates its other sides from various *Asiatick* isles of great importance in the commercial system of *Europe*: annexed to that immense tract of land is the peninsula

peninsula of *Corea*, which a vast oval basin divides from *Nijon* or *Japan*, a celebrated and imperial island, bearing in arts and in arms, in advantage of situation but not in felicity of government, a pre-eminence among eastern kingdoms analogous to that of *Britain* among the nations of the west. So many climates are included in so prodigious an area, that, while the principal emporium of *China* lies nearly under the tropick, its metropolis enjoys the temperature of *Samarkand*; such too is the diversity of soil in its fifteen provinces, that, while some of them are exquisitely fertile, richly cultivated, and extremely populous, others are barren and rocky, dry and unfruitful, with plains as wild or mountains as rugged as any in *Scythia*, and those either wholly deserted, or peopled by savage hordes, who, if they be not still independent, have been very lately subdued by the perfidy, rather than the valour, of a monarch, who has perpetuated his own breach of faith in a *Chinese* poem, of which I have seen a translation.

The word *China*, concerning which I shall offer some new remarks, is well known to the people, whom we call the *Chinese*; but they never apply it (I speak of the learned among them) to themselves or to their country: themselves, according to Father VISDELLOU, they describe as the *people of HAN*, or of some other illustrious family, by the memory of whose actions they flatter their national pride; and their country they call *Chûm-cuë*, or the *Central Kingdom*, representing it in their symbolical characters by a parallelogram exactly bisected: at other times they distinguish it by the words *Tien-bia*, or *What is under Heaven*, meaning *all that is valuable on Earth*. Since they never name themselves with moderation, they would have no right to complain, if they knew, that *European* authors have ever spoken of them in the extremes of applause or of censure: by some they have been extolled as the oldest and the wisest, as the most learned and most ingenious, of nations; whilst others have derided their pretensions to antiquity, condemned their government

as abominable, and arraigned their manners as inhuman, without allowing them an element of science, or a single art, for which they have not been indebted to some more ancient and more civilized race of men. The truth perhaps lies, where we usually find it, between the extremes; but it is not my design to accuse or to defend the *Chinese*, to depress or to aggrandize them: I shall confine myself to the discussion of a question connected with my former discourses, and far less easy to be solved than any hitherto started. “Whence came the singular people, who long “had governed *China*, before they were conquered by the *Tartars*?” On this problem, the solution of which has no concern, indeed, with our political or commercial interests, but a very material connection, if I mistake not, with interests of a higher nature, four opinions have been advanced, and all rather peremptorily asserted, than supported by argument and evidence. By a few writers it has been urged, that the *Chinese* are an original race, who have dwelled for ages, if not from eternity, in the land, which they now possess; by others, and chiefly by the missionaries, it is insisted, that they sprang from the same stock with the *Hebrews* and *Arabs*; a third assertion is that of the *Arabs* themselves and of M. PAUW, who hold it indubitable, that they were originally *Tartars* descending in wild clans from the steeps of *Imaus*; and a fourth, at least as dogmatically pronounced as any of the preceding, is that of the *Brahmens*, who decide, without allowing any appeal from their decision, that the *Chinas* (for so they are named in *Sanscrit*) were *Hindus* of the *Cshatriya*, or military, class, who, abandoning the privileges of their tribe, rambled in different bodies to the north-east of *Bengal*; and, forgetting by degrees the rites and religion of their ancestors, established separate principalities, which were afterwards united in the plains and valleys, which are now possessed by them. If any one of the three last opinions be just, the first of them must necessarily be relinquished; but of those three, the first cannot possibly be sustained; because it rests on no firmer support than a foolish remark, whether true or false, that

Sem in *Chinese* means *life* and *procreation*; and because a tea-plant is not more different from a palm, than a *Chinese* from an *Arab*: they are men, indeed, as the tea and the palm are vegetables; but human sagacity could not, I believe, discover any other trace of resemblance between them. One of the *Arabs*, indeed, an account of whose voyage to *India* and *China* has been translated by RENAUDOT, thought the *Chinese* not only handsomer (according to his ideas of beauty) than the *Hindus*, but even more like his own countrymen in features, habits, manners and ceremonies; and this may be true, without proving an actual resemblance between the *Chinese* and *Arabs*, except in dress and complexion. The next opinion is more connected with that of the *Bráhmens*, than M. PAUW, probably, imagined; for though he tells us expressly, that by *Scythians* he meant the *Turks* or *Tartars*; yet the dragon on the standard, and some other peculiarities, from which he would infer a clear affinity between the old *Tartars* and the *Chinese*, belonged indubitably to those *Scythians*, who are known to have been *Goths*; and the *Goths* had manifestly a common lineage with the *Hindus*, if his own argument, in the preface to his *Researches*, on the similarity of language, be, as all men agree that it is, irrefragable. That the *Chinese* were anciently of a *Tartarian* stock, is a proposition, which I cannot otherwise disprove for the present, than by insisting on the total dissimilarity of the two races in manners and arts, particularly in the fine arts of imagination, which the *Tartars*, by their own account, never cultivated; but, if we show strong grounds for believing, that the first *Chinese* were actually of an *Indian* race, it will follow that M. PAUW and the *Arabs* are mistaken: it is to the discussion of this new and, in my opinion, very interesting point, that I shall confine the remainder of my discourse.

In the *Sanfrit* Institutes of Civil and Religious Duties, revealed, as the *Hindus* believe, by MENU, the son of BRAHMA', we find the following

lowing curious passage: “ Many families of the military class, having
 “ gradually abandoned the ordinances of the *Véda*, and the company of
 “ *Bráhmens*, lived in a state of degradation; as the people of *Pundraca*
 “ and *Odra*, those of *Dravira* and *Cambója*, the *Yavanas* and *Sacas*,
 “ the *Páradas* and *Pahlavas*, the *Chínas* and some other nations.” A
 full comment on this text would here be superfluous; but, since the
 testimony of the *Indian* author, who, though certainly not a divine per-
 sonage, was as certainly a very ancient lawyer, moralist, and historian,
 is direct and positive, disinterested and unsuspected, it would, I think,
 decide the question before us, if we could be sure, that the word *Chína*
 signified a *Chinese*, as all the *Pandits*, whom I have separately con-
 sulted, assert with one voice: they assure me, that the *Chínas* of
 MENU settled in a fine country to the north-east of *Gaur*, and to the
 east of *Cámarúp* and *Népál*; that they have long been, and still are,
 famed as ingenious artificers; and that they had themselves seen old
Chinese idols, which bore a manifest relation to the primitive religion of
India before BUDDHA’S appearance in it. A well-informed *Pandit*
 showed me a *Sanscrit* book in *Cashmirian* letters, which, he said, was
 revealed by SIVA himself, and entitled *Saṭṭisangama*: he read to me a
 whole chapter of it on the heterodox opinions of the *Chínas*, who were
 divided, says the author, into near two hundred clans. I then laid
 before him a map of *Asia*; and, when I pointed to *Cashmir*, his own
 country, he instantly placed his finger on the north-western provinces
 of *China*, where the *Chínas*, he said, first established themselves; but
 he added, that *Maháchína*, which was also mentioned in his book,
 extended to the eastern and southern oceans. I believe, nevertheless,
 that the *Chinese* empire, as we now call it, was not formed when the
 laws of MENU were collected; and for this belief, so repugnant to the
 general opinion, I am bound to offer my reasons. If the outline of
 history and chronology for the last two thousand years be correctly
 traced, (and we must be hardy scepticks to doubt it) the poems of

CA'LIDA's were composed before the beginning of our era: now it is clear, from internal and external evidence, that the *Rámáyan* and *Mahábhárat* were considerably older than the productions of that poet; and it appears from the style and metre of the *Dherma Sástra* revealed by MENU, that it was reduced to writing long before the age of VA'LMIC or VYA'SA, the second of whom names it with applause: we shall not, therefore, be thought extravagant, if we place the compiler of those laws between a thousand and fifteen hundred years before CHRIST; especially as BUDDHA, whose age is pretty well ascertained, is not mentioned in them; but, in the twelfth century before our era, the *Chinese* empire was at least in its cradle. This fact it is necessary to prove; and my first witness is CONFUCIUS himself. I know to what keen satire I shall expose myself by citing that philosopher, after the bitter sarcasms of M. PAUW against him and against the translators of his mutilated, but valuable, works; yet I quote without scruple the book entitled *Lún Yú*, of which I possess the original with a verbal translation, and which I know to be sufficiently authentick for my present purpose: in the second part of it CON-FU-TSU declares, that "Although he, like other men, could relate, as mere lessons of "morality, the histories of the first and second imperial houses, yet, "for want of evidence, he could give no certain account of them." Now, if the *Chinese* themselves do not even pretend, that any historical monuments existed, in the age of CONFUCIUS, preceding the rise of their third dynasty about eleven hundred years before the *Christian* epoch, we may justly conclude, that the reign of VU'VAM was in the infancy of their empire, which hardly grew to maturity till some ages after that prince; and it has been asserted by very learned *Europeans*, that even of the third dynasty, which he has the fame of having raised, no unsuspected memorial can now be produced. It was not till the eighth century before the birth of our Saviour, that a small kingdom was erected in the province of *Sben-sí*, the capital of which stood nearly
in

in the *thirty-fifth* degree of northern latitude, and about *five* degrees to the west of *Si-gan*: both the country and its metropolis were called *Chín*; and the dominion of its princes was gradually extended to the east and west. A king of *Chín*, who makes a figure in the *Sháhnámah* among the allies of *AFRA'SIYA'B*, was, I presume, a sovereign of the country just mentioned; and the river of *Chín*, which the poet frequently names as the limit of his eastern geography, seems to have been the *Yellow River*, which the *Chinese* introduce at the beginning of their fabulous annals: I should be tempted to expatiate on so curious a subject; but the present occasion allows nothing superfluous, and permits me only to add, that *Mungukhán* died, in the middle of the thirteenth century, before the city of *Chín*, which was afterwards taken by *KUBLAI*, and that the poets of *Irán* perpetually allude to the districts around it which they celebrate, with *Chegil* and *Khoten*, for a number of musk-animals roving on their hills. The territory of *Chín*, so called by the old *Hindus*, by the *Persians*, and by the *Chinese* (while the *Greeks* and *Arabs* were obliged by their defective articulation to miscall it *Sin*) gave its name to a race of emperors, whose tyranny made their memory so unpopular, that the modern inhabitants of *China* hold the word in abhorrence, and speak of themselves as the people of a milder and more virtuous dynasty; but it is highly probable that the whole nation descended from the *Chinas* of *MÉNU*, and, mixing with the *Tartars*, by whom the plains of *Honan* and the more southern provinces were thinly inhabited, formed by degrees the race of men, whom we now see in possession of the noblest empire in *Asia*.

In support of an opinion, which I offer as the result of long and anxious inquiries, I should regularly proceed to examine the language and letters, religion and philosophy, of the present *Chinese*, and subjoin some remarks on their ancient monuments, on their sciences, and on their arts both liberal and mechanical: but their spoken language,
not

not having been preserved by the usual symbols of articulate sounds, must have been for many ages in a continual flux; their *letters*, if we may so call them, are merely the symbols of ideas; their popular *religion* was imported from *India* in an age comparatively modern; and their *philosophy* seems yet in so rude a state, as hardly to deserve the appellation; they have no *ancient monuments*, from which their origin can be traced even by plausible conjecture; their *sciences* are wholly exotick; and their *mechanical arts* have nothing in them characteristick of a particular family; nothing, which any set of men, in a country so highly favoured by nature, might not have discovered and improved. They have indeed, both national musick and national poetry, and both of them beautifully pathetick; but of painting, sculpture, or architecture, as arts of imagination, they seem (like other *Asiatics*) to have no idea. Instead, therefore, of enlarging separately on each of those heads, I shall briefly inquire, how far the literature and religious practices of *China* confirm or oppose the proposition, which I have advanced.

The declared and fixed opinion of M. DE GUIGNES, on the subject before us, is nearly connected with that of the *Bráhmens*: he maintains, that the *Chinese* were emigrants from *Egypt*; and the *Egyptians*, or *Ethiopians*, (for they were clearly the same people) had indubitably a common origin with the old natives of *India*, as the affinity of their languages, and of their institutions, both religious and political, fully evinces; but that *China* was peopled a few centuries before our era by a colony from the banks of the *Nile*, though neither *Persians* nor *Arabs*, *Tartars* nor *Hindus*, ever heard of such an emigration, is a paradox, which the bare authority even of so learned a man cannot support; and, since reason grounded on facts can alone decide such a question, we have a right to demand clearer evidence and stronger arguments, than any that he has adduced. The hieroglyphicks of *Egypt* bear, indeed, a
strong

strong resemblance to the mythological sculptures and paintings of *India*, but seem wholly dissimilar to the symbolical system of the *Chinese*, which might easily have been invented (as they assert) by an individual, and might very naturally have been contrived by the first *Chinas*, or out-cast *Hindus*, who either never knew, or had forgotten, the alphabetical characters of their wiser ancestors. As to the table and busts of *Isis*, they seem to be given up as modern forgeries; but, if they were indisputably genuine, they would be nothing to the purpose; for the letters on the bust appear to have been designed as alphabetical; and the fabricator of them (if they really were fabricated in *Europe*) was uncommonly happy, since two or three of them are exactly the same with those on a metal pillar yet standing in the north of *India*. In *Egypt*, if we can rely on the testimony of the *Greeks*, who studied no language but their own, there were two sets of alphabetical characters; the one *popular*, like the various letters used in our *Indian* provinces; and the other *sacerdotal*, like the *Dévanâgarî*, especially that form of it, which we see in the *Vêda*; besides which they had two sorts of *sacred sculpture*; the one simple, like the figures of *BUDDHA* and the three *RA'MAS*; and the other, allegorical, like the images of *GANE'SA*, or *Divine Wisdom*, and *ISA'NI'*, or *Nature*, with all their emblematical accompaniments; but the *real character* of the *Chinese* appears wholly distinct from any *Egyptian* writing, either mysterious or popular; and, as to the fancy of *M. DE GUIGNES*, that the complicated symbols of *China* were at first no more than *Phœnician* monograms, let us hope, that he has abandoned so wild a conceit, which he started probably with no other view than to display his ingenuity and learning.

We have ocular proof, that the few radical characters of the *Chinese* were originally (like our astronomical and chymical symbols) the pictures or outlines of visible objects, or figurative signs for simple ideas, which they have multiplied by the most ingenious combinations and
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the liveliest metaphors ; but, as the system is peculiar, I believe, to themselves and the *Japanese*, it would be idly ostentatious to enlarge on it at present ; and, for the reasons already intimated, it neither corroborates nor weakens the opinion, which I endeavour to support. The same may as truly be said of their *spoken* language ; for, independently of its constant fluctuation during a series of ages, it has the peculiarity of excluding four or five sounds, which other nations articulate, and is clipped into monosyllables, even when the ideas expressed by them, and the written symbols for those ideas, are very complex. This has arisen, I suppose, from the singular habits of the people ; for, though their common tongue be so *musically* accented as to form a kind of recitative, yet it wants those *grammatical* accents, without which all human tongues would appear monosyllabick : thus *Amita*, with an accent on the first syllable, means, in the *Sanscrit* language, *immeasurable* ; and the natives of *Bengal* pronounce it *Omito* ; but, when the religion of BUDDHA, the son of MA'YA', was carried hence into *China*, the people of that country, unable to pronounce the name of their new God, called him FOE, the son of MO-YE, and divided his epithet *Amita* into three syllables O-MI-TO, annexing to them certain ideas of their own, and expressing them in writing by three distinct symbols. We may judge from this instance, whether a comparison of their spoken tongue with the dialects of other nations can lead to any certain conclusion as to their origin ; yet the instance, which I have given, supplies me with an argument from analogy, which I produce as conjectural only, but which appears more and more plausible, the oftener I consider it. The BUDDHA of the *Hindus* is unquestionably the FOE of *China* ; but the great progenitor of the *Chinese* is also named by them FO-HI, where the second monosyllable signifies, it seems, a *victim* : now the ancestor of that military tribe, whom the *Hindus* call the *Chandrawansa*, or Children of the Moon, was, according to their *Puranas* or legends, BUDHA, or the genius of the planet *Mercury*, from whom, in
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the *fifth* degree, descended a prince named DRUHYA ; whom his father YAYA'TI sent in exile to the east of *Hindustán*, with this imprecation, “ may thy progeny be ignorant of the *Véda*.” The name of the banished prince could not be pronounced by the modern *Chinese* ; and, though I dare not conjecture, that the last syllable of it has been changed into YAO, I may nevertheless observe that YAO was the *fifth* in descent from FO-HI, or at least the fifth mortal in the first imperial dynasty ; that all *Chinese* history before him is considered by *Chinese* themselves as poetical or fabulous ; that his father TI-co, like the *Indian* king YAYA'TI, was the first prince who married several women ; and that FO-HI, the head of their race, appeared, say the *Chinese*, in a province of the west, and held his court in the territory of *Chín*, where the rovers, mentioned by the *Indian* legislator, are supposed to have settled. Another circumstance in the parallel is very remarkable : according to father DE PREMARE, in his tract on *Chinese* mythology, the mother of FO-HI was the *Daughter of Heaven*, surnamed *Flower-loving* ; and, as the nymph was walking alone on the bank of a river with a similar name, she found herself on a sudden encircled by a *rain-bow* ; soon after which she became pregnant, and at the end of twelve years was delivered of a son radiant as herself, who, among other titles, had that of SU'I, or *Star of the Year*. Now in the mythological system of the *Hindus*, the nymph RO'HINI', who presides over the fourth lunar mansion, was the favourite mistress of SO'MA, or the Moon, among whose numerous epithets we find *Cumudanáyaca*, or *Delighting in a species of water-flower*, that blossoms at night ; and their offspring was BUDHA, regent of a planet, and called also, from the names of his parents, RAUHINE'YA or SAUMYA : it is true, that the learned missionary explains the word SU'I by *Jupiter* ; but an exact resemblance between two such fables could not have been expected ; and it is sufficient for my purpose, that they seem to have a family likeness. The God BUDHA, say the *Indians*, married ILA', whose father was preserved in a miraculous ark from an

universal deluge: now, although I cannot insist with confidence, that the *rain-bow* in the *Chinese* fable alludes to the *Mosaick* narrative of the flood, nor build any solid argument on the divine personage NIU-VA, of whose character, and even of whose sex, the historians of *China* speak very doubtfully, I may, nevertheless, assure you, after full inquiry and consideration, that the *Chinese*, like the *Hindus*, believe this earth to have been wholly covered with water, which, in works of undisputed authenticity, they describe as *flowing abundantly, then subsiding, and separating the higher from the lower age of mankind*; that the *division of time*, from which their poetical history begins, just preceded the appearance of FO-HI on the mountains of *Chin*, but that the great *inundation* in the reign of YAO was either confined to the lowlands of his kingdom, if the whole account of it be not a fable, or, if it contain any allusion to the flood of NOAH, has been ignorantly misplaced by the *Chinese* annalists.

The importation of a new religion into *China*, in the first century of our era, must lead us to suppose, that the former system, whatever it was, had been found inadequate to the purpose of restraining the great body of the people from those offences against conscience and virtue, which the civil power could not reach; and it is hardly possible that, without such restrictions, any government could long have subsisted with felicity; for no government can long subsist without equal justice, and justice cannot be administered without the sanctions of religion. Of the religious opinions, entertained by CONFUCIUS and his followers, we may glean a general notion from the fragments of their works translated by COUPLET: they professed a firm belief in the supreme GOD, and gave a demonstration of his being and of his providence from the exquisite beauty and perfection of the celestial bodies, and the wonderful order of nature in the whole fabrick of the visible world. From this belief they deduced a system of Ethicks, which the philosopher sums up in
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a few words at the close of the *Lún-yù*: “He,” says CONFUCIUS, “who shall be fully persuaded, that the Lord of Heaven governs the universe, who shall in all things chuse moderation, who shall perfectly know his own species, and so act among them, that his life and manners may conform to his knowledge of God and man, may be truly said to discharge all the duties of a sage, and to be far exalted above the common herd of the human race.” But such a religion and such morality could never have been general; and we find, that the people of *China* had an ancient system of ceremonies and superstitions, which the government and the philosophers appear to have encouraged, and which has an apparent affinity with some parts of the oldest *Indian* worship: they believed in the agency of genii or tutelary spirits, presiding over the stars and the clouds, over lakes and rivers, mountains, valleys, and woods, over certain regions and towns, over all the elements (of which, like the *Hindus*, they reckoned *five*) and particularly over *fire*, the most brilliant of them: to those deities they offered victims on high places; and the following passage from the *Sbì-cin*, or *Book of Odes*, is very much in the style of the *Bráhmans*: “Even they, who perform a sacrifice with due reverence, cannot perfectly assure themselves, that the divine spirits accept their oblations; and far less can they, who adore the Gods with languor and oscitancy, clearly perceive their sacred illapses.” These are imperfect traces indeed, but they are traces, of an affinity between the religion of MENU and that of the *Chinas*, whom he names among the apostates from it: M. LE GENTIL observed, he says, a strong resemblance between the funeral rites of the *Chinese* and the *Sráddh* of the *Hindus*; and M. BAILLY, after a learned investigation, concludes, that “Even the puerile and absurd stories of the *Chinese* fabulists contain a remnant of ancient *Indian* history, with a faint sketch of the first *Hindu* ages.” As the *Bauddhas*, indeed, were *Hindus*, it may naturally be imagined, that they carried into *China* many ceremonies practised in their own country; but the *Bauddhas* positively

positively forbad the immolation of cattle; yet we know, that various animals, even bulls and men, were anciently sacrificed by the *Chinese*; besides which we discover many singular marks of relation between them and the old *Hindus*: as in the remarkable period of *four hundred and thirty two thousand*, and the cycle of *sixty*, years; in the predilection for the mystical number *nine*; in many similar fasts and great festivals, especially at the solstices and equinoxes; in the just-mentioned obsequies consisting of rice and fruits offered to the manes of their ancestors; in the dread of dying childless, lest such offerings should be intermitted; and, perhaps, in their common abhorrence of *red* objects, which the *Indians* carried so far, that MENU himself, where he allows a *Bráhmén* to trade, if he cannot otherwise support life, absolutely forbids “his trafficking in any sort of *red* cloths, whether “linen or woollen, or made of woven bark.” All the circumstances, which have been mentioned under the two heads of *literature* and *religion*, seem collectively to prove (as far as such a question admits proof) that the *Chinese* and *Hindus* were originally the same people, but having been separated near four thousand years, have retained few strong features of their ancient consanguinity, especially as the *Hindus* have preserved their old language and ritual, while the *Chinese* very soon lost both, and the *Hindus* have constantly intermarried among themselves, while the *Chinese*, by a mixture of *Tartarian* blood from the time of their first establishment, have at length formed a race distinct in appearance both from *Indians* and *Tartars*.

A similar diversity has arisen, I believe, from similar causes, between the people of *China* and *Japan*; on the second of which nations we have now, or soon shall have, as correct and as ample instruction as can possibly be obtained without a perfect acquaintance with the *Chinese* characters. KÆMPFER has taken from M. TITSINGH the honour of being the first, and he from KÆMPFER that of being the only, *European*,

pean, who, by a long residence in *Japan*, and a familiar intercourse with the principal natives of it, has been able to collect authentick materials for the natural and civil history of a country *secluded*, as the *Romans* used to say of our own island, *from the rest of the world*: the works of those illustrious travellers will confirm and embellish each other; and, when M. TITSINGH shall have acquired a knowledge of *Chinese*, to which a part of his leisure in *Java* will be devoted, his precious collection of books in that language, on the laws and revolutions, the natural productions, the arts, manufactures, and sciences of *Japan*, will be in his hands an inexhaustible mine of new and important information. Both he and his predecessor assert with confidence, and, I doubt not, with truth, that the *Japanese* would resent, as an insult on their dignity, the bare suggestion of their descent from the *Chinese*, whom they surpass in several of the mechanical arts, and, what is of greater consequence, in military spirit; but they do not, I understand, mean to deny, that they are a branch of the same ancient stem with the people of *China*; and, were that fact ever so warmly contested by them, it might be proved by an invincible argument, if the preceding part of this discourse, on the origin of the *Chinese*, be thought to contain just reasoning. In the first place, it seems inconceivable, that the *Japanese*, who never appear to have been conquerors or conquered, should have adopted the whole system of *Chinese* literature with all its inconveniences and intricacies, if an immemorial connexion had not subsisted between the two nations, or, in other words, if the bold and ingenious race, who peopled *Japan* in the middle of the thirteenth century before CHRIST, and, about six hundred years afterwards, established their monarchy, had not carried with them the letters and learning, which they and the *Chinese* had possessed in common; but my principal argument is, that the *Hindu* or *Egyptian* idolatry has prevailed in *Japan* from the earliest ages; and among the idols worshipped, according to KÆMPFER, in that country, before the innovations of SA'CŶA or

BUDDHA

BUDDHA, whom the *Japanese* also call AMIDA, we find many of those, which we see every day in the temples of *Bengal*; particularly the *goddeſs with many arms*, representing the powers of Nature, in *Egypt* named ISIS and here ISA'NI' or ISI', whose image, as it is exhibited by the *German* traveller, all the *Bráhmans*, to whom I showed it, immediately recognized with a mixture of pleasure and enthusiasm. It is very true, that the *Chinese* differ widely from the natives of *Japan* in their vernacular dialects, in external manners, and perhaps in the strength of their mental faculties; but as wide a difference is observable among all the nations of the *Gotbick* family; and we might account even for a greater dissimilarity, by considering the number of ages, during which the several swarms have been separated from the great *Indian* hive, to which they primarily belonged. The modern *Japanese* gave KÆMPFER the idea of polished *Tartars*; and it is reasonable to believe, that the people of *Japan*, who were originally *Hindus* of the martial class and advanced farther eastward than the *Chinas*, have, like them, insensibly changed their features and characters by intermarriages with various *Tartarian* tribes, whom they found loosely scattered over their isles, or who afterwards fixed their abode in them.

Having now shown in five discourses, that the *Arabs* and *Tartars* were originally distinct races, while the *Hindus*, *Chinese*, and *Japanese* proceeded from another ancient stem, and that all the three stems may be traced to *Iràn*, as to a common centre, from which it is highly probable, that they diverged in various directions about four thousand years ago, I may seem to have accomplished my design of investigating the origin of the *Asiatick* nations; but the questions, which I undertook to discuss, are not yet ripe for a strict analytical argument; and it will first be necessary to examine with scrupulous attention all the detached or insulated races of men, who either inhabit the borders of *India*, *Arabia*, *Tartary*, *Persia*, and *China*, or are interspersed in the mountainous
and

and uncultivated parts of those extensive regions. To this examination I shall, at our next annual meeting, allot an entire discourse ; and if, after all our inquiries, no more than *three* primitive races can be found, it will be a subsequent consideration, whether those three stocks had one common root, and, if they had, by what means that root was preserved amid the violent shocks, which our whole globe appears evidently to have sustained.

THE EIGHTH
ANNIVERSARY DISCOURSE,

DELIVERED 24 FEBRUARY, 1791.

BY

THE PRESIDENT.

GENTLEMEN,

WE have taken a general view, at our five last annual meetings, of as many celebrated nations, whom we have proved, as far as the subject admits of proof, to have descended from three primitive stocks, which we call for the present *Indian, Arabian, Tartarian*; and we have nearly travelled over all *Asia*, if not with a perfect coincidence of sentiment, at least, with as much unanimity, as can be naturally expected in a large body of men, each of whom must assert it as his right, and consider it as his duty, to decide on all points for himself, and never to decide on obscure points without the best evidence, that can possibly be adduced: our travels will this day be concluded, but our historical researches would have been left incomplete, if we had passed without attention over the numerous races of borderers, who have long been established on the limits of *Arabia, Persia, India, China, and Tartary*;

Tartary; over the wild tribes residing in the mountainous parts of those extensive regions; and the more civilized inhabitants of the islands annexed by geographers to their *Asiatick* division of this globe.

Let us take our departure from *Idume* near the gulf of *Elanitis*, and, having encircled *Asia*, with such deviations from our course as the subject may require, let us return to the point, from which we began; endeavouring, if we are able, to find a nation, who may clearly be shown, by just reasoning from their language, religion, and manners, to be neither *Indians*, *Arabs*, nor *Tartars*, pure or mixed; but always remembering, that any small family detached in an early age from their parent stock, without letters, with few ideas beyond objects of the first necessity, and consequently with few words, and fixing their abode on a range of mountains, in an island, or even in a wide region before uninhabited, might in four or five centuries people their new country, and would necessarily form a new language with no perceptible traces, perhaps, of that spoken by their ancestors. *Edom* or *Idume*, and *Erythra* or *Phœnice*, had originally, as many believe, a similar meaning, and were derived from words denoting a *red* colour; but, whatever be their derivation, it seems indubitable, that a race of men were anciently settled in *Idume* and in *Median*, whom the oldest and best *Greek* authors call *Erythreans*; who were very distinct from the *Arabs*; and whom, from the concurrence of many strong testimonies, we may safely refer to the *Indian* stem. M. D'HERBELOT mentions a tradition (which he treats, indeed, as a fable), that a colony of those *Idumeans* had migrated from the northern shores of the *Erythrean* sea, and sailed across the *Mediterranean* to *Europe*, at the time fixed by Chronologers for the passage of EVANDER with his *Arcadians* into *Italy*, and that both *Greeks* and *Romans* were the progeny of those emigrants. It is not on vague and suspected traditions, that we must build our belief of such events; but NEWTON, who advanced nothing in science without demonstration,

demonstration, and nothing in history without such evidence as he thought conclusive, asserts from authorities, which he had carefully examined, that the *Idumean* voyagers “carried with them both arts
“ and sciences, among which were their astronomy, navigation, and
“ letters; for in *Idume*, says he, they had *letters*, and *names for constel-*
“ *lations*, before the days of *JOB*, who mentions them.” *JOB*, indeed, or the author of the book, which takes its name from him, was of the *Arabian* flock, as the language of that sublime work incontestably proves; but the invention and propagation of letters and astronomy are by all so justly ascribed to the *Indian* family, that, if *STRABO* and *HERODOTUS* were not grossly deceived, the adventurous *Idumeans*, who first gave names to the stars, and hazarded long voyages in ships of their own construction, could be no other than a branch of the *Hindu* race: in all events, there is no ground for believing them of a *fourth* distinct lineage; and we need say no more of them, till we meet them again, on our return, under the name of *Phenicians*.

As we pass down the formidable sea, which rolls over its coral bed between the coast of the *Arabs*, or those, who speak the pure language of *ISMAÏL*, and that of the *Ajams*, or those, who *mutter it barbarously*, we find no certain traces, on the *Arabian* side, of any people, who were not originally *Arabs* of the genuine or mixed breed: anciently, perhaps, there were *Troglodytes* in part of the peninsula, but they seem to have been long supplanted by the *Nomades*, or wandering herdsmen; and who those *Troglodytes* were, we shall see very clearly, if we deviate a few moments from our intended path, and make a short excursion into countries very lately explored on the Western, or *African*, side of the Red Sea.

That the written *Abyssinian* language, which we call *Ethiopick*, is a dialect of old *Chaldean*, and a sister of *Arabick* and *Hebrew*, we know with certainty, not only from the great multitude of identical words,
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but (which is a far stronger proof) from the similar grammatical arrangement of the several idioms: we know at the same time, that it is written, like all the *Indian* characters, from the left hand to the right, and that the vowels are annexed, as in *Dévangari*, to the consonants; with which they form a syllabick system extremely clear and convenient, but disposed in a less artificial order than the system of letters now exhibited in the *Sanscrit* grammars; whence it may justly be inferred, that the order contrived by PA'NINI or his disciples is comparatively modern; and I have no doubt, from a cursory examination of many old inscriptions on pillars and in caves, which have obligingly been sent to me from all parts of *India*, that the *Nágarì* and *Ethiopian* letters had at first a similar form. It has long been my opinion, that the *Abyssinians* of the *Arabian* stock, having no symbols of their own to represent articulate sounds, borrowed those of the black pagans, whom the *Greeks* call *Troglodytes*, from their primeval habitations in natural caverns, or in mountains excavated by their own labour: they were probably the first inhabitants of *Africa*, where they became in time the builders of magnificent cities, the founders of seminaries for the advancement of science and philosophy, and the inventors (if they were not rather the importers) of symbolical characters. I believe on the whole, that the *Ethiops* of *Meroë* were the same people with the first *Egyptians*, and consequently, as it might easily be shown, with the original *Hindus*. To the ardent and intrepid Mr. BRUCE, whose travels are to my taste uniformly agreeable and satisfactory, though he thinks very differently from me on the language and genius of the *Arabs*, we are indebted for more important, and, I believe, more accurate, information concerning the nations established near the *Nile* from its fountains to its mouths, than all *Europe* united could before have supplied; but, since he has not been at the pains to compare the seven languages, of which he has exhibited a specimen, and since I have not leisure to make the comparison, I must be satisfied with observing, on his authority,

authority, that the dialects of the *Gafots* and the *Gallas*, the *Agows* of both races, and the *Falashas*, who must originally have used a *Chaldean* idiom, were never preserved in writing, and the *Ambarick* only in modern times: they must, therefore, have been for ages in fluctuation, and can lead, perhaps, to no certain conclusion as to the origin of the several tribes, who anciently spoke them. It is very remarkable, as Mr. BRUCE and Mr. BRYANT have proved, that the *Greeks* gave the appellation of *Indians* both to the southern nations of *Africk* and to the people, among whom we now live; nor is it less observable, that, according to EPHORUS quoted by STRABO, they called all the southern nations in the world *Ethiopians*, thus using *Indian* and *Ethiop* as convertible terms: but we must leave the gymnosophists of *Ethiopia*, who seem to have professed the doctrines of BUDDHA, and enter the great *Indian* ocean, of which their *Asiatick* and *African* brethren were probably the first navigators.

On the islands near *Yemen* we have little to remark: they appear now to be peopled chiefly by *Mohammedans*, and afford no marks of discrimination, with which I am acquainted, either in language or manners; but I cannot bid farewell to the coast of *Arabia*, without assuring you, that, whatever may be said of *Ommán*, and the *Scythian* colonies, who, it is imagined, were formerly settled there, I have met with no trace in the maritime part of *Yemen*, from *Aden* to *Masfat*, of any nation, who were not either *Arabs* or *Abyssinian* invaders.

Between that country and *Irán* are some islands, which, from their insignificance in our present inquiry, may here be neglected; and, as to the *Curds*, or other independent races, who inhabit the branches of *Taurus* or the banks of *Euphrates* and *Tigris*, they have, I believe, no written language, nor any certain memorials of their origin: it has, indeed, been asserted by travellers, that a race of wanderers in *Diýárbecr*
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yet speak the *Chaldaick* of our scripture; and the rambling *Turcméns* have retained, I imagine, some traces of their *Tartarian* idioms; but, since no vestige appears, from the gulf of *Persia* to the rivers *Cur* and *Aras*, of any people distinct from the *Arabs*, *Persjans*, or *Tartars*, we may conclude, that no such people exists in the *Iranian* mountains, and return to those, which separate *Irén* from *India*. The principal inhabitants of the mountains, called *Pársjici*, where they run towards the west, *Parveti*, from a known *Sanfcrít* word, where they turn in an eastern direction, and *Paropamisus*, where they join *Imaus* in the north, were anciently distinguished among the *Bráhmans* by the name of *Deradas*, but seem to have been destroyed or expelled by the numerous tribes of *Afgháns* or *Patans*, among whom are the *Palíjas*, who give their name to a mountainous district; and there is very solid ground for believing, that the *Afgháns* descended from the *Jews*; because they sometimes in confidence avow that unpopular origin, which in general they sedulously conceal, and which other *Muselmans* positively assert; because *Hazaret*, which appears to be the *Asareth* of *ESDRAS*, is one of their territories; and, principally, because their language is evidently a dialect of the scriptural *Chaldaick*.

We come now to the river *Sindhu* and the country named from it: near its mouths we find a district, called by *NEARCHUS*, in his journal, *Sangada*; which *M. D'ANVILLE* justly supposes to be the seat of the *Sanganians*, a barbarous and piratical nation mentioned by modern travellers, and well known at present by our countrymen in the west of *India*. *Mr. MALET*, now resident at *Pínu* on the part of the *British* government, procured at my request the *Sanganian* letters, which are a sort of *Nágarí*, and a specimen of their language, which is apparently derived, like other *Indian* dialects, from the *Sanfcrít*; nor can I doubt, from the descriptions, which I have received, of their persons and manners, that they are *Pámeras*, as the *Bráhmans* call them, or outcast *Hindus*,

Hindus, immemorially separated from the rest of the nation. It seems agreed, that the singular people, called *Egyptians*, and, by corruption, *Gyppies*, passed the *Mediterranean* immediately from *Egypt*; and their motley language, of which Mr. GRELLMANN exhibits a copious vocabulary, contains so many *Sanſcrit* words, that their *Indian* origin can hardly be doubted: the authenticity of that vocabulary seems established by a multitude of *Gyppy* words, as *angár*, charcoal, *cáſbth*, wood, *pár*, a bank, *bhú*, earth, and a hundred more, for which the collector of them could find no parallel in the vulgar dialect of *Hinduſtán*, though we know them to be pure *Sanſcrit* scarce changed in a single letter. A very ingenious friend, to whom this remarkable fact was imparted, suggested to me, that those very words might have been taken from old *Egyptian*, and that the *Gyppies* were *Troglodytes* from the rocks near *Thebes*, where a race of banditti still resemble them in their habits and features; but, as we have no other evidence of so strong an affinity between the popular dialects of old *Egypt* and *India*, it seems more probable, that the *Gyppies*, whom the *Italians* call *Zingaros*, and *Zinganos*, were no other than *Zinganians*, as M. D'ANVILLE also writes the word, who might, in some piratical expedition, have landed on the coast of *Arabia* or *Africa*, whence they might have rambled to *Egypt*, and at length have migrated, or been driven into *Europe*. To the kindness of Mr. MALET I am also indebted for an account of the *Boras*; a remarkable race of men inhabiting chiefly the cities of *Gujarát*, who, though *Muſſelmans* in religion, are *Jews* in features, genius, and manners: they form in all places a distinct fraternity, and are every where noted for address in bargaining, for minute thrift, and constant attention to lucre, but profess total ignorance of their own origin; though it seems probable, that they came first with their brethren the *Afgháns* to the borders of *India*, where they learned in time to prefer a gainful and secure occupation in populous towns to perpetual wars and laborious exertions on the mountains. As to the *Moplas*, in the western parts of
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the *Indian* empire, I have seen their books in *Arabick*, and am persuaded, that, like the people called *Malays*, they descended from *Arabian* traders and mariners after the age of MUHAMMED.

On the continent of *India*, between the river *Vipása*, or *Hyphasis*, to the west, the mountains of *Tripura* and *Cámarúpa* to the east, and *Himálaya* to the north, we find many races of wild people with more or less of that pristine ferocity, which induced their ancestors to secede from the civilized inhabitants of the plains and valleys: in the most ancient *Sanfrit* books they are called *Sacas*, *Cirátas*, *Cólas*, *Pulindas*, *Barbaras*, and are all known to *Europeans*, though not all by their true names; but many *Hindu* pilgrims, who have travelled through their haunts, have fully described them to me; and I have found reasons for believing, that they sprang from the old *Indian* stem, though some of them were soon intermixed with the first rambles from *Tartary*, whose language seems to have been the basis of that now spoken by the *Moguls*.

We come back to the *Indian* islands, and hasten to those, which lie to the south-east of *Silán*, or *Taprobane*; for *Silán* itself, as we know from the languages, letters, religion, and old monuments of its various inhabitants, was peopled beyond time of memory by the *Hindu* race, and formerly, perhaps, extended much farther to the west and to the south, so as to include *Lancà*, or the equinoctial point of the *Indian* astronomers; nor can we reasonably doubt, that the same enterprising family planted colonies in the other isles of the same ocean from the *Malayadwipas*, which take their name from the mountain of *Malaya*, to the *Moluccas*, or *Mallicás*, and probably far beyond them. Captain FORREST assured me, that he found the isle of *Bali* (a great name in the historical poems of *India*) chiefly peopled by *Hindus*, who worshipped the same idols, which he had seen in this province; and that of *Madburà* must have been so denominated, like the well known territory in the western peninsula,

sula, by a nation, who understood *Sanſcrit*. We need not be ſurprized, that M. D'ANVILLE was unable to aſſign a reaſon, why the *Jabadios*, or *Pavadaſipa*, of PTOLEMY was rendered in the old *Latin* verſion the iſle of *Barley*; but we muſt admire the inquiſitive ſpirit and patient labour of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, whom nothing obſervable ſeems to have eſcaped: *Tava* means *barley* in *Sanſcrit*; and, though that word, or its regular derivative, be now applied ſolely to *Java*, yet the great *French* geographer adduces very ſtrong reaſons for believing, that the ancients applied it to *Sumatra*. In whatever way the name of the laſt mentioned iſland may be written by *Europeans*, it is clearly an *Indian* word, implying *abundance* or *excellence*; but we cannot help wondering, that neither the natives of it, nor the beſt informed of our *Pandits*, know it by any ſuch appellation; eſpecially as it ſtill exhibits viſible traces of a primeval connexion with *India*: from the very accurate and intereſting account of it by a learned and ingenious member of our own body, we diſcover, without any recourſe to etymological conjecture, that multitudes of pure *Sanſcrit* words occur in the principal dialects of the *Sumatrans*; that, among their laws, two poſitive rules concerning *ſureties* and *intereſt* appear to be taken word for word from the *Indian* legiſlators NA'RED and HA'RI'TA; and, what is yet more obſervable, that the ſyſtem of letters, uſed by the people of *Rejang* and *Lampun*, has the ſame artificial order with the *Dévanagari*; but in every ſeries one letter is omitted, becauſe it is never found in the languages of thoſe iſlanders. If Mr. MARSDEN has proved (as he firmly believes, and as we, from our knowledge of his accuracy, may fairly preſume) that clear veſtiges of one ancient language are diſcernible in all the inſular dialects of the ſouthern ſeas from *Madagaſcar* to the *Philippines* and even to the remotest iſlands lately diſcovered, we may infer from the ſpecimens in his account of *Sumatra*, that the parent of them all was no other than the *Sanſcrit*; and with this obſervation, having nothing of conſequence to add on the *Chineſe* iſles or on thoſe

of *Japan*, I leave the farthest eastern verge of this continent, and turn to the countries, now under the government of *China*, between the northern limits of *India*, and the extensive domain of those *Tartars*, who are still independent.

That the people of *Pótyid* or *Tibet* were *Hindus*, who engrafted the heresies of *BUDDHA* on their old mythological religion, we know from the researches of *CASSIANO*, who long had resided among them; and whose disquisitions on their language and letters, their tenets and forms of worship, are inserted by *GIORGI* in his curious but prolix compilation, which I have had the patience to read from the first to the last of nine hundred rugged pages: their characters are apparently *Indian*, but their language has now the disadvantage of being written with more letters than are ever pronounced; for, although it was anciently *Sanſcrit* and polysyllabick, it seems at present, from the influence of *Chinese* manners, to consist of monosyllables, to form which, with some regard to grammatical derivation, it has become necessary to suppress in common discourse many letters, which we see in their books; and thus we are enabled to trace in their writing a number of *Sanſcrit* words and phrases, which in their spoken dialect are quite undistinguishable. The two engravings in *GIORGI*'s book, from sketches by a *Tibetian* painter, exhibit a system of *Egyptian* and *Indian* mythology; and a complete explanation of them would have done the learned author more credit than his fanciful etymologies, which are always ridiculous, and often grossly erroneous.

The *Tartars* having been wholly unlettered, as they freely confess, before their conversion to the religion of *Arabia*, we cannot but suspect, that the natives of *Eighúr*, *Tancit*, and *Kbatà*, who had systems of letters and are even said to have cultivated liberal arts, were not of the *Tartarian*, but of the *Indian*, family; and I apply the same remark to the

the nation, whom we call *Barmas*, but who are known to the *Pandits* by the name of *Brahmachinas*, and seem to have been the *Brachmani* of *PROLEMY*: they were probably rambling *Hindus*, who, descending from the northern parts of the eastern peninsula, carried with them the letters now used in *Ava*, which are no more than a round *Nágarì* derived from the square characters, in which the *Páli*, or sacred language of *BUDDHA*'s priests in that country, was anciently written; a language, by the way, very nearly allied to the *Sanfrit*, if we can depend on the testimony of *M. DE LA LOUBERE*; who, though always an acute observer, and in general a faithful reporter, of facts, is charged by *CARPANIUS* with having mistaken the *Barma* for the *Páli* letters; and when, on his authority, I spoke of the *Bali* writing to a young chief of *Aracon*, who read with facility the books of the *Barmas*, he corrected me with politeness, and assured me, that the *Páli* language was written by the priests in a much older character.

Let us now return eastward to the farthest *Asiatick* dominions of *Russia*, and, rounding them on the northeast, pass directly to the *Hyperboreans*; who, from all that can be learned of their old religion and manners, appear like the *Maffagetæ*, and some other nations usually considered as *Tartars*, to have been really of the *Gothick*, that is of the *Hindu*, race: for I confidently assume, that the *Goths* and the *Hindus* had originally the same language, gave the same appellations to the stars and planets, adored the same false deities, performed the same bloody sacrifices, and professed the same notions of rewards and punishments after death. I would not insist with *M. BAILLY*, that the people of *Finland* were *Goths*, merely because they have the word *ship* in their language; while the rest of it appears wholly distinct from any of the *Gothick* idioms: the publishers of the Lord's Prayer in many languages represent the *Finnish* and *Lapponian* as nearly alike, and the *Hungarian*

as totally different from them ; but this must be an error, if it be true, that a *Russian* author has lately traced the *Hungarian* from its primitive seat between the *Caspian* and the *Euxine*, as far as *Laplund* itself ; and, since the *Huns* were confessedly *Tartars*, we may conclude, that all the northern languages, except the *Gotbick*, had a *Tartarian* origin, like that universally ascribed to the various branches of *Slavonian*.

On the *Armenian*, which I never studied, because I could not hear of any original compositions in it, I can offer nothing decisive ; but am convinced, from the best information procurable in *Bengal*, that its basis was ancient *Persian* of the same *Indian* stock with the *Zend*, and that it has been gradually changed since the time, when *Armenia* ceased to be a province of *Irán*: the letters, in which it now appears, are allowed to be comparatively modern ; and, though the learned editor of the tract by *CARPANIUS* on the literature of *Ava*, compares them with the *Páli* characters, yet, if they be not, as I should rather imagine, derived from the *Pablavi*, they are probably an invention of some learned *Armenian* in the middle of the fifth century. *Moses* of *Khoren*, than whom no man was more able to elucidate the subject, has inserted in his historical work a disquisition on the language of *Armenia*, from which we might collect some curious information, if the present occasion required it ; but to all the races of men, who inhabit the branches of *Caucasus* and the northern limits of *Irán*, I apply the remark, before announced generally, that ferocious and hardy tribes, who retire for the sake of liberty to mountainous regions, and form by degrees a separate nation, must also form in the end a separate language by agreeing on new words to express new ideas ; provided that the language, which they carried with them, was not fixed by writing and sufficiently copious. The *Armenian* damsels are said by *STRABO* to have sacrificed in the temple of the goddess *ANAITIS*, whom we know,
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from other authorities, to be the NA'HI'D, or VENUS, of the old *Perfians*; and it is for many reasons highly probable, that one and the same religion prevailed through the whole empire of CYRUS.

Having travelled round the continent, and among the islands, of *Asia*, we come again to the coast of the *Mediterranean*; and the principal nations of antiquity, who first demand our attention, are the *Greeks* and *Phrygians*, who, though differing somewhat in manners, and perhaps in dialect, had an apparent affinity in religion as well as in language: the *Dorian*, *Ionian*, and *Eolian* families having emigrated from *Europe*, to which it is universally agreed that they first passed from *Egypt*, I can add nothing to what has been advanced concerning them in former discourses; and, no written monuments of old *Phrygia* being extant, I shall only observe, on the authority of the *Greeks*, that the grand object of mysterious worship in that country was the Mother of the Gods, or Nature personified, as we see her among the *Indians* in a thousand forms and under a thousand names. She was called in the *Phrygian* dialect MA', and represented in a car drawn by lions, with a drum in her hand, and a towered coronet on her head: her mysteries (which seem to be alluded to in the *Mosaic* law) are solemnized at the autumnal equinox in these provinces, where she is named, in one of her characters, MA', is adored, in all of them, as the great Mother, is figured sitting on a lion, and appears in some of her temples with a diadem or mitre of turrets: a drum is called *dindima* both in *Sanscrit* and *Phrygian*; and the title of *Dindymene* seems rather derived from that word, than from the name of a mountain. The *DIANA* of *Ephesus* was manifestly the same goddess in the character of productive Nature; and the *ASTARTE* of the *Syrians* and *Phenicians* (to whom we now return) was, I doubt not, the same in another form: I may on the whole assure you, that the learned works of SELDEN and JABLONSKI, on the Gods of *Syria* and *Egypt*, would receive more illustration from
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the little *Sanſcrit* book, entitled *Chandi*, than from all the fragments of oriental mythology, that are diſperſed in the whole compaſs of *Grecian*, *Roman*, and *Hebrew* literature. We are told, that the *Phenicians*, like the *Hindus*, adored the Sun, and aſſerted water to be the firſt of created things; nor can we doubt, that *Syria*, *Samaria*, and *Phenice*, or the long ſtrip of land on the ſhore of the *Mediterranean*, were anciently peopled by a branch of the *Indian* ſtock, but were afterwards inhabited by that race, which for the preſent we call *Arabian*: in all three the oldeſt religion was the *Aſſyrian*, as it is called by SELDEN, and the *Samaritan* letters appear to have been the ſame at firſt with thoſe of *Phenice*; but the *Syriack* language, of which ample remains are preſerved, and the *Punick*, of which we have a clear ſpecimen in PLAUTUS and on monuments lately brought to light, were indifputably of a *Chaldaick*, or *Arabick*, origin.

The feat of the firſt *Phenicians* having extended to *Idume*, with which we began, we have now completed the circuit of *Aſia*; but we muſt not paſs over in ſilence a moſt extraordinary people, who eſcaped the attention, as BARROW obſerves more than once, of the diligent and inquiſitive HERODOTUS: I mean the people of *Judea*, whoſe language demonſtrates their affinity with the *Arabs*, but whoſe manners, literature, and hiſtory are wonderfully diſtinguiſhed from the reſt of mankind. BARROW loads them with the ſevere, but juſt, epithets of malignant, unfocial, obſtinate, diſtruſtful, ſordid, changeable, turbulent; and deſcribes them as furioſly zealous in ſuccouring their own countrymen, but implacably hoſtile to other nations; yet, with all the ſottiſh perverseneſs, the ſtupid arrogance, and the brutal atrocity of their character, they had the peculiar merit, among all races of men under heaven, of preſerving a rational and pure ſyſtem of devotion in the miſt of wild polytheiſm, inhuman or obſcene rights, and a dark labyrinth of errors produced by ignorance and ſupported by intereſted fraud. Theological inquiries are

no part of my present subject; but I cannot refrain from adding, that the collection of tracts, which we call from their excellence *the Scriptures*, contain, independently of a divine origin, more true sublimity, more exquisite beauty, purer morality, more important history, and finer strains both of poetry and eloquence, than could be collected within the same compass from all other books, that were ever composed in any age or in any idiom. The two parts, of which the Scriptures consist, are connected by a chain of compositions, which bear no resemblance in form or style to any that can be produced from the stores of *Grecian, Indian, Persian*, or even *Arabian*, learning: the antiquity of those compositions no man doubts; and the unstrained application of them to events long subsequent to their publication is a solid ground of belief, that they were genuine predictions, and consequently inspired; but, if any thing be the absolute exclusive property of each individual, it is his belief; and, I hope, I should be one of the last men living, who could harbour a thought of obtruding my own belief on the free minds of others. I mean only to assume, what, I trust, will be readily conceded, that the first *Hebrew* historian must be entitled, merely as such, to an equal degree of credit, in his account of all civil transactions, with any other historian of antiquity: how far that most ancient writer confirms the result of our inquiries into the genealogy of nations, I propose to show at our next anniversary meeting; when, after an approach to demonstration, in the strict method of the old analysis, I shall resume the whole argument concisely and synthetically; and shall then have condensed in seven discourses a mass of evidence, which, if brevity had not been my object, might have been expanded into seven large volumes with no other trouble than that of holding the pen; but (to borrow a turn of expression from one of our poets) “for what I have produced, I claim only your indulgence; it is for what I have suppressed, that I am entitled to your thanks.”

DISCOURSE THE NINTH.

ON

THE ORIGIN AND FAMILIES OF NATIONS.

DELIVERED 23 FEBRUARY, 1792.

BY

THE PRESIDENT.

YOU have attended, gentlemen, with so much indulgence to my discourses on the five *Asiatick* nations, and on the various tribes established along their several borders or interspersed over their mountains, that I cannot but flatter myself with an assurance of being heard with equal attention, while I trace to one centre the three great families, from which those nations appear to have proceeded, and then hazard a few conjectures on the different courses, which they may be supposed to have taken toward the countries, in which we find them settled at the dawn of all genuine history.

Let us begin with a short review of the propositions, to which we have gradually been led, and separate such as are morally certain, from such as are only probable: that the first race of *Persians* and *Indians*, to whom we may add the *Romans* and *Greeks*, the *Goths*, and the old

Egyptians or *Ethiops*, originally spoke the same language and professed the same popular faith, is capable, in my humble opinion, of incontestable proof; that the *Jews* and *Arabs*, the *Assyrians*, or second *Persian* race, the people who spoke *Syriack*, and a numerous tribe of *Abyssinians*, used one primitive dialect wholly distinct from the idiom just mentioned, is, I believe, undisputed, and, I am sure, indisputable; but that the settlers in *China* and *Japan* had a common origin with the *Hindus*, is no more than highly probable; and, that all the *Tartars*, as they are inaccurately called, were primarily of a third separate branch, totally differing from the two others in language, manners, and features, may indeed be plausibly conjectured, but cannot, for the reasons alledged in a former essay, be perspicuously shown, and for the present therefore must be merely assumed. Could these facts be verified by the best attainable evidence, it would not, I presume, be doubted, that the whole earth was peopled by a variety of shoots from the *Indian*, *Arabian*, and *Tartarian* branches, or by such intermixtures of them, as, in a course of ages, might naturally have happened.

Now I admit without hesitation the aphorism of LINNÆUS, that “in the beginning God created one pair only of every living species, which has a diversity of sex;” but, since that incomparable naturalist argues principally from the wonderful diffusion of vegetables, and from an hypothesis, that the water on this globe has been continually subsiding, I venture to produce a shorter and closer argument in support of his doctrine. That *Nature*, of which simplicity appears a distinguishing attribute, *does nothing in vain*, is a maxim in philosophy; and against those, who deny maxims, we cannot dispute; but *it is vain and superfluous to do by many means what may be done by fewer*, and this is another axiom received into courts of judicature from the schools of philosophers: *we must not, therefore, says our great NEWTON, admit more causes of natural things, than those, which are true, and sufficiently account*

account for natural phenomena ; but it is true, that one pair *at least* of every living species must at first have been created ; and that one human pair was sufficient for the population of our globe in a period of no considerable length (on the very moderate supposition of lawyers and political arithmeticians, that every pair of ancestors left on an average two children, and each of them two more), is evident from the rapid increase of numbers in geometrical progression, so well known to those, who have ever taken the trouble to sum a series of as many terms, as they suppose generations of men in two or three thousand years. It follows, that the Author of Nature (for all nature proclaims its divine author) created but one pair of our species ; yet, had it not been (among other reasons) for the devastations, which history has recorded, of water and fire, wars, famine, and pestilence, this earth would not now have had room for its multiplied inhabitants. If the human race then be, as we may confidently assume, of one natural species, they must all have proceeded from one pair ; and if perfect justice be, as it is most indubitably, an essential attribute of GOD, that pair must have been gifted with sufficient wisdom and strength to be virtuous, and, as far as their nature admitted, happy, but intrusted with freedom of will to be vicious and consequently degraded : whatever might be their option, they must people in time the region where they first were established, and their numerous descendants must necessarily seek new countries, as inclination might prompt, or accident lead, them ; they would of course migrate in separate families and clans, which, forgetting by degrees the language of their common progenitor, would form new dialects to convey new ideas, both simple and complex ; natural affection would unite them at first, and a sense of reciprocal utility, the great and only cement of social union in the absence of publick honour and justice, for which in evil times it is a general substitute, would combine them at length in communities more or less regular ; laws would be proposed by a part of each community, but enacted by the whole ; and govern-
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ments would be variously arranged for the happiness or misery of the governed, according to their own virtue and wisdom, or depravity and folly; so that, in less than three thousand years, the world would exhibit the same appearances, which we may actually observe on it in the age of the great *Arabian* impostor.

On that part of it, to which our united researches are generally confined, we see *five* races of men peculiarly distinguished, in the time of MUHAMMED, for their multitude and extent of dominion; but we have reduced them to *three*, because we can discover no more, that essentially differ in language, religion, manners, and other known characteristics: now those three races, how variously soever they may at present be dispersed and intermixed, must (if the preceding conclusions be justly drawn) have migrated originally from a central country, to find which is the problem proposed for solution. Suppose it solved; and give any arbitrary name to that centre: let it, if you please, be *Iràn*. The three primitive languages, therefore, must at first have been concentrated in *Iràn*, and there only in fact we see traces of them in the earliest historical age; but, for the sake of greater precision, conceive the whole empire of *Iràn*, with all its mountains and vallies, plains and rivers, to be every way infinitely diminished; the first winding courses, therefore, of all the nations proceeding from it by land, and nearly at the same time, will be little right lines, but without interfections, because those courses could not have thwarted and crossed one another: if then you consider the seats of all the migrating nations as points in a surrounding figure, you will perceive, that the several rays, diverging from *Iràn*, may be drawn to them without any interfection; but this will not happen, if you assume as a centre *Arabia*, or *Egypt*; *India*, *Tartary*, or *China*: it follows, that *Iràn*, or *Persia* (I contend for *the meaning, not the name*), was the central country, which we sought. This mode of reasoning I have adopted, not from any affectation (as you will do me

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the justice to believe) of a scientifick dicttion, but for the sake of conciseness and variety, and from a wish to avoid repetitions; the substance of my argument having been detailed in a different form at the close of another discourse; nor does the argument in any form rise to demonstration, which the question by no means admits: it amounts, however, to such a proof, grounded on written evidence and credible testimony, as all mankind hold sufficient for decisions affecting property, freedom, and life.

Thus then have we proved, that the inhabitants of *Asia*, and consequently, as it might be proved, of the whole earth, sprang from three branches of one stem: and that those branches have shot into their present state of luxuriance in a period comparatively short, is apparent from a fact universally acknowledged, that we find no certain monument, or even probable tradition, of nations planted, empires and states raised, laws enacted, cities built, navigation improved, commerce encouraged, arts invented, or letters contrived, above twelve or at most fifteen or sixteen centuries before the birth of CHRIST, and from another fact, which cannot be controverted, that seven hundred or a thousand years would have been fully adequate to the supposed propagation, diffusion, and establishment of the human race.

The most ancient history of that race, and the oldest composition perhaps in the world, is a work in *Hebrew*, which we may suppose at first, for the sake of our argument, to have no higher authority than any other work of equal antiquity, that the researches of the curious had accidentally brought to light: it is ascribed to *MUSAH*; for so he writes his own name, which, after the *Greeks* and *Romans*, we have changed into *Moses*; and, though it was manifestly his object to give an historical account of a single family, he has introduced it with a
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short view of the primitive world, and his introduction has been divided, perhaps improperly, into *eleven* chapters. After describing with awful sublimity the creation of this universe, he asserts, that one pair of every animal species was called from nothing into existence; that the human pair were strong enough to be happy, but free to be miserable; that, from delusion and temerity, they disobeyed their supreme benefactor, whose goodness could not pardon them consistently with his justice; and that they received a punishment adequate to their disobedience, but softened by a mysterious promise to be accomplished in their descendants. We cannot but believe, on the supposition just made of a history uninspired, that these facts were delivered by tradition from the first pair, and related by MOSES in a figurative style; not in that sort of allegory, which rhetoricians describe as a mere assemblage of metaphors, but in the symbolical mode of writing adopted by eastern sages, to embellish and dignify historical truth; and, if this were a time for such illustrations, we might produce the same account of the *creation* and the *fall*, expressed by symbols very nearly similar, from the *Purānas* themselves, and even from the *Vēda*, which appears to stand next in antiquity to the five books of MOSES.

The sketch of antediluvian history, in which we find many dark passages, is followed by the narrative of a *deluge*, which destroyed the whole race of man, except four pairs; an historical fact admitted as true by every nation, to whose literature we have access, and particularly by the ancient *Hindus*, who have allotted an entire *Purāna* to the detail of that event, which they relate, as usual, in symbols or allegories. I concur most heartily with those, who insist, that, in proportion as any fact mentioned in history seems repugnant to the course of nature, or, in one word, miraculous, the stronger evidence is required to induce a rational belief of it; but we hear without incredulity, that cities have

have been overwhelmed by eruptions from burning mountains, territories laid waste by hurricanes, and whole islands depopulated by earthquakes: if then we look at the firmament sprinkled with innumerable stars; if we conclude by a fair analogy, that every star is a sun, attracting, like ours, a system of inhabited planets; and if our ardent fancy, soaring hand in hand with sound reason, waft us beyond the visible sphere into regions of immensity, disclosing other celestial expanses and other systems of suns and worlds on all sides without number or end, we cannot but consider the submersion of our little spheroid as an infinitely less event in respect of the immeasurable universe, than the destruction of a city or an isle in respect of this habitable globe. Let a general flood, however, be supposed improbable in proportion to the magnitude of so ruinous an event, yet the concurrent evidences of it are completely adequate to the supposed improbability; but, as we cannot here expatiate on those proofs, we proceed to the fourth important fact recorded in the *Mosaic* history; I mean the first propagation and early dispersion of mankind *in separate families* to separate places of residence.

Three sons of the just and virtuous man, whose lineage was preserved from the general inundation, travelled, we are told, as they began to multiply, in *three* large divisions variously subdivided: the children of YAFET stem, from the traces of *Sclavonian* names, and the mention of their being *enlarged*, to have spread themselves far and wide, and to have produced the race, which, for want of a correct appellation, we call *Tartarian*; the colonies, formed by the sons of HAM and SHEM, appear to have been nearly simultaneous; and, among those of the latter branch, we find so many names incontestably preserved at this hour in *Arabic*, that we cannot hesitate in pronouncing them the same people, whom hitherto we have denominated *Arabs*; while the former branch, the most powerful and adventurous of whom were the progeny of
CUSH,

CUSH, MISR, and RAMA (names remaining unchanged in *Sanscrit*, and highly revered by the *Hindus*), were, in all probability, the race, which I call *Indian*, and to which we may now give any other name, that may seem more proper and comprehensive.

The general introduction to the *Jewish* history closes with a very concise and obscure account of a presumptuous and mad attempt, by a particular colony, to build a splendid city and raise a fabrick of immense height, independently of the divine aid, and, it should seem, in defiance of the divine power; a project, which was baffled by means appearing at first view inadequate to the purpose, but ending in violent dissention among the projectors, and in the ultimate separation of them: this event also seems to be recorded by the ancient *Hindus* in two of their *Puranas*; and it will be proved, I trust, on some future occasion, that *the lion bursting from a pillar to destroy a blaspheming giant*, and *the dwarf, who beguiled and held in derision the magnificent BELI*, are one and the same story related in a symbolical style.

Now these primeval events are described as having happened between the *Oxus* and *Euphrates*, the mountains of *Caucasus* and the borders of *India*, that is, within the limits of *Iran*; for, though most of the *Mosaick* names have been considerably altered, yet numbers of them remain unchanged: we still find *Harrán* in *Mesopotamia*, and travellers appear unanimous in fixing the site of ancient *Babel*.

Thus, on the preceding supposition, that the first eleven chapters of the book, which it is thought proper to call *Genesis*, are merely a preface to the oldest civil history now extant, we see the truth of them confirmed by antecedent reasoning, and by evidence in part highly probable, and in part certain; but the *connection* of the *Mosaick* history with that of the Gospel by a chain of sublime predictions unquestionably

ably ancient, and apparently fulfilled, must induce us to think the *Hebrew* narrative more than human in its origin, and consequently true in every substantial part of it, though possibly expressed in figurative language; as many learned and pious men have believed, and as the most pious may believe without injury, and perhaps with advantage, to the cause of revealed religion. If *MOSES* then was endued with supernatural knowledge, it is no longer probable only, but absolutely certain, that the whole race of man proceeded from *Iràn*, as from a centre, whence they migrated at first in three great colonies; and that those three branches grew from a common stock, which had been miraculously preserved in a general convulsion and inundation of this globe.

Having arrived by a different path at the same conclusion with Mr. BRYANT as to one of those families, the most ingenious and enterprising of the three, but arrogant, cruel, and idolatrous, which we both conclude to be various shoots from the *Hamian* or *Amonian* branch, I shall add but little to my former observations on his profound and agreeable work, which I have thrice perused with increased attention and pleasure, though not with perfect acquiescence in the other less important parts of his plausible system. The sum of his argument seems reducible to three heads. First; “if the deluge really happened at the
 “time recorded by *MOSES*, those nations, whose monuments are preserved or whose writings are accessible, must have retained memorials
 “of an event so stupendous and comparatively so recent; but in fact
 “they have retained such memorials:” this reasoning seems just, and the fact is true beyond controversy: Secondly; “those memorials were expressed by the race of *HAM*, before the use of letters, in rude sculpture or painting, and mostly in symbolical figures of the *ark*, the
 “eight persons concealed in it, and the birds, which first were dismissed
 “from it: this fact is probable, but, I think, not sufficiently ascertained.” Thirdly; “all ancient Mythology (except what was purely *Sabian*) had

“ its primary source in those various symbols misunderstood; so that
 “ ancient Mythology stands now in the place of symbolical sculpture or
 “ painting, and must be explained on the same principles, on which we
 “ should begin to decypher the originals, if they now existed :” this part
 of the system is, in my opinion, carried too far; nor can I persuade my-
 self (to give one instance out of many) that the beautiful allegory of CUPID
 and PSYCHE, had the remotest allusion to the deluge, or that HYMEN
 signified the *veil*, which covered the patriarch and his family. These
 propositions, however, are supported with great ingenuity and solid
 erudition, but, unprofitably for the argument, and unfortunately, per-
 haps, for the fame of the work itself, recourse is had to etymological
 conjecture, than which no mode of reasoning is in general weaker or
 more delusive. He, who professes to derive the words of any one lan-
 guage from those of another, must expose himself to the danger of per-
 petual errors, unless he be perfectly acquainted with both; yet my re-
 spectable friend, though eminently skilled in the idioms of *Greece* and
Rome, has no sort of acquaintance with any *Asiatick* dialect, except
Hebrew; and he has consequently made mistakes, which every learner
 of *Arabick* and *Persian* must instantly detect. Among *fifty* radical words
 (*ma*, *taph*, and *ram* being included), *eighteen* are purely of *Arabian*
 origin, *twelve* merely *Indian*, and *seventeen* both *Sanscrit* and *Arabick*,
 but in senses totally different; while *two* are *Greek* only, and one *Egyptian*,
 or barbarous: if it be urged, that those *radicals* (which ought surely
 to have concluded, instead of preceding, an *analytical* inquiry) are pre-
 cious traces of the primitive language, from which all others were
 derived, or to which at least they were subsequent, I can only declare
 my belief, that the language of NOAH is lost irretrievably, and assure
 you, that, after a diligent search, I cannot find a single word used
 in common by the *Arabian*, *Indian*, and *Tartar* families, before the
 intermixture of dialects occasioned by *Mohammedan* conquests. There
 are, indeed, very obvious traces of the *Hamian* language, and some
 hundreds

hundreds of words might be produced, which were formerly used promiscuously by most nations of that race; but I beg leave, as a philologist, to enter my protest against conjectural etymology in historical researches, and principally against the licentiousness of etymologists in transposing and inserting letters, in substituting at pleasure any consonant for another of the same order, and in totally disregarding the vowels: for such permutations few radical words would be more convenient than CUS or CUSH, since, dentals being changed for dentals, and palatials for palatials, it instantly becomes *coot*, *goose*, and, by transposition, *duck*, all water-birds, and *evidently* symbolical; it next is the *goat* worshipped in *Egypt*, and, by a metathesis, the *dog* adored as an emblem of SIRIUS, or, more obviously, a *cat*, not the domestick animal, but a sort of ship, and, the *Catos*, or great sea-fish, of the *Dorians*. It will hardly be imagined, that I mean by this irony to insult an author, whom I respect and esteem; but no consideration should induce me to assist by my silence in the diffusion of error; and I contend, that almost any word or nation might be derived from any other, if such licences, as I am opposing, were permitted in etymological histories: when we find, indeed, the same words, letter for letter, and in a sense precisely the same, in different languages, we can scarce hesitate in allowing them a common origin; and, not to depart from the example before us, when we see CUSH or CUS (for the *Sanscrit* name also is variously pronounced) among the sons of BRAHMA, that is, among the progenitors of the *Hindus*, and at the head of an ancient pedigree preserved in the *Rāmāyan*; when we meet with his name again in the family of RA'MA; when we know, that the name is venerated in the highest degree, and given to a sacred grass, described as a *Poa* by KOENIG, which is used with a thousand ceremonies in the oblations to fire, ordained by MĒNU to form the sacrificial zone of the *Bráhmans*, and solemnly declared in the *Vēda* to have sprung up soon after the deluge, whence the *Paurānicks* consider it as *the bristly hair of the boar*

which

which supported the globe ; when we add, that one of the seven *dwlpas*, or great peninsulas of this earth, has the same appellation, we can hardly doubt, that the CUSH of MOSES and VA'LMIC was the same personage and an ancestor of the *Indian* race.

From the testimonies adduced in the six last annual discourses, and from the additional proofs laid before you, or rather opened, on the present occasion, it seems to follow, that the only human family after the flood established themselves in the northern parts of *Iràn* ; that, as they multiplied, they were divided into three distinct branches, each retaining little at first, and losing the whole by degrees, of their common primary language, but agreeing severally on new expressions for new ideas ; that the branch of YA'FET was *enlarged* in many scattered shoots over the north of *Europe* and *Asia*, diffusing themselves as far as the western and eastern seas, and, at length in the infancy of navigation, beyond them both ; that they cultivated no liberal arts, and had no use of letters, but formed a variety of dialects, as their tribes were variously ramified ; that, secondly, the children of HAM, who founded in *Iràn* itself the monarchy of the first *Chaldeans*, invented letters, observed and named the luminaries of the firmament, calculated the known *Indian* period of *four hundred and thirty-two thousand years*, or an *hundred and twenty* repetitions of the *Jaros*, and contrived the old system of Mythology, partly allegorical, and partly grounded on idolatrous veneration for their sages and lawgivers ; that they were dispersed at various intervals and in various colonies over land and ocean ; that the tribes of MISR, CUSH, and RAMA settled in *Africk* and *India* ; while some of them, having improved the art of sailing, passed from *Egypt*, *Phenice*, and *Phrygia*, into *Italy* and *Greece*, which they found thinly peopled by former emigrants, of whom they supplanted some tribes, and united themselves with others ; whilst a swarm from the same hive moved by a northerly course into *Scandinavia*, and another, by the head of the *Oxus*, and through
the

the passes of *Imaus*, into *Cashghar* and *Eighúr*, *Khatá* and *Khoten*, as far as the territories of *Chín* and *Tancút*, where letters have been used and arts immemorially cultivated; nor is it unreasonable to believe, that some of them found their way from the eastern isles into *Mexico* and *Peru*, where traces were discovered of rude literature and Mythology analogous to those of *Egypt* and *India*; that, thirdly, the old *Chaldean* empire being overthrown by the *Assyrians* under CAYU'MERS, other migrations took place, especially into *India*, while the rest of SHEM's progeny, some of whom had before settled on the Red Sea, peopled the whole *Arabian* peninsula, pressing close on the nations of *Syria* and *Phenice*; that, lastly, from all the three families were detached many bold adventurers of an ardent spirit and a roving disposition, who disdained subordination and wandered in separate clans, till they settled in distant isles or in deserts and mountainous regions; that, on the whole, some colonies might have migrated before the death of their venerable progenitor, but that states and empires could scarce have assumed a regular form, till fifteen or sixteen hundred years before the *Christian* epoch, and that, for the first thousand years of that period, we have no history unmixed with fable, except that of the turbulent and variable, but eminently distinguished, nation descended from ABRAHAM.

My design, gentlemen, of tracing the origin and progress of the five principal nations, who have peopled *Asia*, and of whom there were considerable remains in their several countries at the time of MUHAMMED'S birth, is now accomplished; succinctly, from the nature of these essays; imperfectly, from the darkness of the subject and scantiness of my materials, but clearly and comprehensively enough to form a basis for subsequent researches: you have seen, as distinctly as I am able to show, *who* those nations originally were, *whence* and *when* they moved toward their final stations; and, in my future annual discourses, I propose to enlarge on the *particular advantages* to our country and to mankind, which

which may result from our sedulous and united inquiries into the history, science, and arts, of these *Asiatick* regions, especially of the *British* dominions in *India*, which we may consider as the centre (not of the human race, but) of our common exertions to promote its true interests; and we shall concur, I trust, in opinion, that the race of man, to advance whose manly happiness is our duty and will of course be our endeavour, cannot long be happy without virtue, nor actively virtuous without freedom, nor securely free without rational knowledge.

THE TENTH
ANNIVERSARY DISCOURSE,

DELIVERED 28 FEBRUARY, 1793.

BY

THE PRESIDENT.

ON ASIATICK HISTORY, CIVIL AND NATURAL.

BEFORE our entrance, gentlemen, into the disquisition, promised at the clofe of my ninth annual difcourse, on the *particular advantages*, which may be derived from our concurrent researches in *Asia*, it seems necessary to fix with precision the sense, in which we mean to speak of *advantage* or *utility*: now, as we have described the five *Asiatick* regions on their largest scale, and have expanded our conceptions in proportion to the magnitude of that wide field, we should use those words, which comprehend the fruit of all our inquiries, in their most extensive acceptation; including not only the solid conveniences and comforts of social life, but its elegances and innocent pleasures, and even the gratification of a natural and laudable curiosity; for, though labour be clearly the lot of man in this world, yet, in the midst of his most active exertions, he cannot but feel the substantial benefit of every liberal amusement,

ment, which may lull his passions to rest, and afford him a sort of repose without the pain of total inaction, and the real usefulness of every pursuit, which may enlarge and diversify his ideas, without interfering with the principal objects of his civil station or economical duties; nor should we wholly exclude even the trivial and worldly sense of *utility*, which too many consider as merely synonymous with *lucre*, but should reckon among useful objects those practical, and by no means illiberal, arts, which may eventually conduce both to national and to private emolument. With a view then to *advantages* thus explained, let us examine every point in the whole circle of arts and sciences, according to the received order of their dependence on the faculties of the mind, their mutual connexion, and the different subjects, with which they are conversant: our inquiries indeed, of which Nature and Man are the primary objects, must of course be chiefly *Historical*; but, since we propose to investigate the *actions* of the several *Asiatick* nations, together with their respective progress in *science* and *art*, we may arrange our investigations under the same three heads, to which our *European* analysts have ingeniously reduced all the branches of human knowledge; and my present address to the society shall be confined to history, civil and natural, or the observation and remembrance of *mere facts*, independently of *ratiocination*, which belongs to philosophy, or of *imitations* and *substitutions*, which are the province of art.

- Were a superior created intelligence to delineate a map of general knowledge (exclusively of that sublime and stupendous theology, which himself could only hope humbly to know by an infinite approximation) he would probably, begin by tracing with NEWTON the system of the universe, in which he would assign the true place to our little globe; and, having enumerated its various inhabitants, contents, and productions, would proceed to man in his natural station among animals, exhibiting a detail of all the knowledge attained or attainable by the human race; and

and thus observing, perhaps, the same order, in which he had before described other beings in other inhabited worlds : but, though BACON seems to have had a similar reason for placing the history of Nature before that of Man, or the whole before one of its parts, yet, consistently with our chief object already mentioned, we may properly begin with the *civil history* of the five *Asiatick* nations, which necessarily comprises their Geography, or a description of the *places*, where they have acted, and their astronomy, which may enable us to fix with some accuracy the *time* of their actions : we shall thence be led to the history of such other *animals*, of such *minerals*, and of such *vegetables*, as they may be supposed to have found in their several migrations and settlements, and shall end with the *uses* to which they have applied, or may apply, the rich assemblage of natural substances.

I. IN the first place, we cannot surely deem it an inconsiderable advantage, that all our historical researches have confirmed the *Mosaic* accounts of the primitive world ; and our testimony on that subject ought to have the greater weight, because, if the result of our observations had been totally different, we should nevertheless have published them, not indeed with equal pleasure, but with equal confidence ; for *Truth is mighty, and, whatever be its consequences, must always prevail* : but, independently of our interest in corroborating the multiplied evidences of revealed religion, we could scarce gratify our minds with a more useful and rational entertainment, than the contemplation of those wonderful revolutions in kingdoms and states, which have happened within little more than four thousand years ; revolutions, almost as fully demonstrative of an all-ruling Providence, as the structure of the universe and the final causes, which are discernible in its whole extent and even in its minutest parts. Figure to your imaginations a moving picture of that eventful period, or rather a succession of crowded scenes rapidly changed. Three families migrate in different courses from one region, and, in about four cen-

turies, establish very distant governments and various modes of society: *Egyptians, Indians, Goths, Phenicians, Celts, Greeks, Latians, Chinese, Peruvians, Mexicans*, all sprung from the same immediate stem, appear to start nearly at one time, and occupy at length those countries, to which they have given, or from which they have derived, their names: in twelve or thirteen hundred years more the *Greeks* overrun the land of their forefathers, invade *India*, conquer *Egypt*, and aim at universal dominion; but the *Romans* appropriate to themselves the whole empire of *Greece*, and carry their arms into *Britain*, of which they speak with haughty contempt: the *Goths*, in the fulness of time, break to pieces the unwieldy *Colossus* of *Roman* power, and seize on the whole of *Britain*, except its wild mountains; but even those wilds become subject to other invaders of the same *Gothick* lineage: during all these transactions, the *Arabs* possess both coasts of the Red Sea, subdue the old seat of their first progenitors, and extend their conquests on one side, through *Africk*, into *Europe* itself; on another, beyond the borders of *India*, part of which they annex to their flourishing empire: in the same interval the *Tartars*, widely diffused over the rest of the globe, swarm in the north-east, whence they rush to complete the reduction of *CONSTANTINE*'s beautiful domains, to subjugate *China*, to raise in these *Indian* realms a dynasty splendid and powerful, and to ravage, like the two other families, the devoted regions of *Iràn*: by this time the *Mexicans* and *Peruvians*, with many races of adventurers variously intermixed, have peopled the continent and isles of *America*, which the *Spaniards*, having restored their old government in *Europe*, discover and in part overcome: but a colony from *Britain*, of which *CICERO* ignorantly declared, that *it contained nothing valuable*, obtain the possession, and finally the sovereign dominion, of extensive *American* districts; whilst other *British* subjects acquire a subordinate empire in the finest provinces of *India*, which the victorious troops of *ALEXANDER* were unwilling to attack. This outline of human transactions, as far as it includes the limits

of *Asia*, we can only hope to fill up, to strengthen, and to colour, by the help of *Asiatick* literature; for in history, as in law, we must not follow streams, when we may investigate fountains, nor admit any secondary proof, where primary evidence is attainable: I should, nevertheless, make a bad return for your indulgent attention, were I to repeat a dry list of all the *Muselman* historians, whose works are preserved in *Arabick*, *Persian*, and *Turkish*, or expatiate on the histories and medals of *China* and *Japan*, which may in time be accessible to members of our Society, and from which alone we can expect information concerning the ancient state of the *Tartars*; but on the history of *India*, which we naturally consider as the centre of our enquiries, it may not be superfluous to present you with a few particular observations.

Our knowledge of civil *Asiatick* history (I always except that of the *Hebrews*) exhibits a short evening twilight in the venerable introduction to the first book of *MOSES*, followed by a gloomy night, in which different watches are faintly discernible, and at length we see a dawn succeeded by a sunrise more or less early according to the diversity of regions. That no *Hindu* nation, but the *Cashmirians*, have left us regular histories in their ancient language, we must ever lament; but from *Sanscrit* literature, which our country has the honour of having unveiled, we may still collect some rays of historical truth, though time and a series of revolutions have obscured that light, which we might reasonably have expected from so diligent and ingenious a people. The numerous *Puranas* and *Itibāsas*, or poems mythological and heroick, are completely in our power; and from them we may recover some disfigured, but valuable, pictures of ancient manners and governments; while the popular *tales* of the *Hindus*, in prose and in verse, contain fragments of history; and even in their *dramas* we may find as many real characters and events, as a future age might find in our own plays, if all histories of *England* were, like those of *India*, to be irrecoverably lost: for
example,

example, a most beautiful poem by SO'MADE'VA, comprising a very long chain of instructive and agreeable stories, begins with the famed revolution at *Pataliputra* by the murder of King NANDA, with his eight sons, and the usurpation of CHANDRAGUPTA; and the same revolution is the subject of a tragedy in *Sanscrit*, entitled the Coronation of CHANDRA, the abbreviated name of that able and adventurous usurper. From these, once concealed but now accessible, compositions, we are enabled to exhibit a more accurate sketch of old *Indian* history than the world has yet seen, especially with the aid of well-attested observations on the places of the colures. It is now clearly proved, that the first *Purāna* contains an account of the deluge, between which and the *Mohammedan* conquests the history of genuine *Hindu* government must of course be comprehended; but we know from an arrangement of the seasons in the astronomical work of PARA'SARA, that the war of the PA'NDAVAS could not have happened earlier than the close of the twelfth century before CHRIST, and SELEUCUS must, therefore, have reigned about nine centuries after that war: now the age of VICRAMA'DITYA is given; and, if we can fix on an *Indian* prince, contemporary with SELEUCUS, we shall have three given points in the line of time between RAMA, or the first *Indian* colony, and CHANDRABI'JA, the last *Hindu* monarch, who reigned in *Behdr*; so that only eight hundred or a thousand years will remain almost wholly dark; and they must have been employed in raising empires or states, in framing laws, in improving languages and arts, and in observing the apparent motions of the celestial bodies. A *Sanscrit* history of the celebrated VICRAMA'DITYA was inspected at *Banares* by a *Pundit*, who would not have deceived me, and could not himself have been deceived; but the owner of the book is dead and his family dispersed; nor have my friends in that city been able, with all their exertions, to procure a copy of it: as to the *Mogul* conquests, with which modern *Indian* history begins, we have ample accounts of them in *Persian*, from ALI of *Yezd* and the translations of *Turkish* books composed even by some of the conquerors,

to GHULA'M HUSAIN, whom many of us personally know, and whose impartiality deserves the highest applause, though his unrewarded merit will give no encouragement to other contemporary historians, who, to use his own phrase in a letter to myself, may, like him, *consider plain truth as the beauty of historical composition*. From all these materials, and from these alone, a perfect history of *India* (if a mere compilation, however elegant, could deserve such a title) might be collected by any studious man, who had a competent knowledge of *Sanscrit*, *Persian*, and *Arabick*; but, even in the work of a writer so qualified, we could only give absolute credence to the general outline; for, while the abstract *sciences* are all truth, and the fine *arts* all fiction, we cannot but own, that, in the *details of history*, truth and fiction are so blended as to be scarce distinguishable.

The practical use of history, in affording particular *examples* of civil and military wisdom, has been greatly exaggerated; but *principles* of action may certainly be collected from it; and even the narrative of wars and revolutions may serve as a lesson to nations and an admonition to sovereigns: a desire, indeed, of knowing past events, while the future cannot be known, and a view of the present gives often more pain than delight, seems natural to the human mind; and a happy propensity would it be, if every reader of history would open his eyes to some very important corollaries, which flow from the whole extent of it. He could not but remark the constant effect of *despotism* in benumbing and debasing all those faculties, which distinguish men from the herd, that grazes; and to that cause he would impute the decided inferiority of most *Asiatick* nations, ancient and modern, to those in *Europe*, who are blest with happier governments; he would see the *Arabs* rising to glory, while they adhered to the free maxims of their bold ancestors, and sinking to misery from the moment, when those maxims were abandoned. On the other hand he would observe with regret, that such *republican* governments

governments as tend to produce virtue and happiness, cannot in their nature be permanent, but are generally succeeded by *Oligarchies*, which no good man would wish to be durable. He would then, like the king of *Lydia*, remember SOLON, the wisest, bravest, and most accomplished of men, who asserts, in four nervous lines, that, “ as hail and snow, which mar the labours of husbandmen, proceed from elevated clouds, and, as the destructive thunderbolt follows the brilliant flash, thus is a free state ruined by men exalted in power and splendid in wealth, while the people, from gross ignorance, chuse rather to become the slaves of one tyrant, that they may escape from the domination of many, than to preserve themselves from tyranny of any kind by their union and their virtues.” Since, therefore, no unmixed form of government could both deserve permanence and enjoy it, and since changes even from the worst to the best, are always attended with much temporary mischief, he would fix on our *British* constitution (I mean our *publick law*, not the actual *state of things* in any given period) as the best form ever established, though we can only make distant approaches to its theoretical perfection. In these *Indian* territories, which providence has thrown into the arms of *Britain* for their protection and welfare, the religion, manners, and laws of the natives preclude even the idea of political freedom; but their histories may possibly suggest hints for their prosperity, while our country derives essential benefit from the diligence of a placid and submissive people, who multiply with such increase, even after the ravages of famine, that, in one collectorship out of *twenty-four*, and that by no means the largest or best cultivated (I mean *Crishna-nagar*) there have lately been found, by an actual enumeration, a *million and three hundred thousand* native inhabitants; whence it should seem, that in all *India* there cannot now be fewer than *thirty millions* of black *British* subjects.

Let us proceed to *geography* and *chronology*, without which history would be no certain guide, but would resemble a kindled vapour without
either

either a fettled place or a steady light. For a reason before intimated I shall not name the various cosmographical books, which are extant in *Arabick* and *Persian*, nor give an account of those, which the *Turks* have beautifully printed in their own improved language, but shall expatiate a little on the geography and astronomy of *India*; having first observed generally, that all the *Asiatick* nations must be far better acquainted with their several countries than mere *European* scholars and travellers; that, consequently, we must learn their geography from their own writings; and that, by collating many copies of the same work, we may correct the blunders of transcribers in tables, names, and descriptions.

Geography, astronomy, and chronology have, in this part of *Asia*, shared the fate of authentick history, and, like that, have been so masked and bedecked in the fantastick robes of mythology and metaphor, that the real system of *Indian* philosophers and mathematicians can scarce be distinguished: an accurate knowledge of *Sanfrit* and a confidential intercourse with learned *Bráhmens*, are the only means of separating truth from fable; and we may expect the most important discoveries from two of our members; concerning whom it may be safely asserted, that, if our society should have produced no other advantage than the invitation given to them for the publick display of their talents, we should have a claim to the thanks of our country and of all *Europe*. Lieutenant WILFORD has exhibited an interesting specimen of the geographical knowledge deducible from the *Purámas*, and will in time present you with so complete a treatise on the ancient world known to the *Hindus*, that the light acquired by the *Greeks* will appear but a glimmering in comparison of that, which He will diffuse; while Mr. DAVIS, who has given us a distinct idea of *Indian* computations and cycles, and ascertained the place of the colures at a time of great importance in history, will hereafter disclose the systems of *Hindu* astronomers from NA'RED and PARA'SAR to MEYA, VARA'HAMIHIR, and BHA'SCAR, and will soon, I trust, lay before you

you a perfect delineation of all the *Indian* afterisms in both hemispheres, where you will perceive so strong a general resemblance to the condelations of the *Greeks*, as to prove that the two systems were originally one and the same, yet with such a diversity in parts, as to show incontestably, that neither system was copied from the other; whence it will follow, that they *must* have had some common source.

The jurisprudence of the *Hindus* and *Arabs* being the field, which I have chosen for my peculiar toil, you cannot expect, that I should greatly enlarge your collection of historical knowledge; but I may be able to offer you some occasional tribute, and I cannot help mentioning a discovery, which accident threw in my way; though my proofs must be reserved for an essay, which I have destined for the fourth volume of your Transactions. To fix the situation of that *Palibothra* (for there may have been several of the name), which was visited and described by MEGASTHENES had always appeared a very difficult problem; for, though it could not have been *Prayāga*, where no ancient metropolis ever stood, nor *Cānyacubja*, which has no epithet at all resembling the word used by the *Greeks*, nor *Gaur*, otherwise called *Lacshmanavati*, which all know to be a town comparatively modern, yet we could not confidently decide that it was *Pātālīputra*, though names and most circumstances nearly correspond, because that renowned capital extended from the confluence of the *Sone* and the *Ganges* to the site of *Patna*, while *Palibothra* stood at the junction of the *Ganges* and *Erannoboas*, which the accurate M. D'ANVILLE had pronounced to be the *Yamunā*: but this only difficulty was removed, when I found in a classical *Sanscrit* book, near two thousand years old, that *Hiranyabāhu*, or *golden-armed*, which the *Greeks* changed into *Erannoboas*, or the river *with a lovely murmur*, was in fact another name for the *Sōna* itself, though MEGASTHENES, from ignorance or inattention, has named them separately. This discovery led to another of greater moment; for CHANDRAGUPTA, who, from a
military

military adventurer, became, like SANDRACOTTUS, the sovereign of upper *Hindufân*, actually fixed the seat of his empire at *Pataliputra*, where he received ambassadors from foreign princes, and was no other than that very SANDRACOTTUS, who concluded a treaty with SELEUCUS Nicator; so that we have solved another problem, to which we before alluded, and may in round numbers consider the twelve and three hundredth years before CHRIST as two certain epochs between RA'MA, who conquered *Silân* a few centuries after the flood, and VICRAMA'DITYA, who died at *Ujjayini* fifty-seven years before the beginning of our era.

II. SINCE these discussions would lead us too far, I proceed to the history of Nature distinguished, for our present purpose, from that of Man; and divided into that of other *animals*, who inhabit this globe, of the *mineral* substances, which it contains, and of the *vegetables*, which so luxuriantly and so beautifully adorn it.

1. Could the figure, instincts, and qualities of birds, beasts, insects, reptiles, and fish be ascertained, either on the plan of BUFFON, or on that of LINNÆUS, without giving pain to the objects of our examination, few studies would afford us more solid instruction or more exquisite delight; but I never could learn by what right, nor conceive with what feelings, a naturalist can occasion the misery of an innocent bird and leave its young, perhaps, to perish in a cold nest, because it has gay plumage and has never been accurately delineated, or deprive even a butterfly of its natural enjoyments, because it has the misfortune to be rare or beautiful; nor shall I ever forget the couplet of FIRDAUSI, for which SADI, who cites it with applause, pours blessings on his departed spirit:

Ah! spare yon emmet, rich in hoarded grain :
He lives with pleasure, and he dies with pain.

This may be only a confession of weakness, and it certainly is not meant as a boast of peculiar sensibility; but, whatever name may be given to my opinion, it has such an effect on my conduct, that I never would suffer the *Cócila*, whose *wild native woodnotes* announce the approach of spring, to be caught in my garden for the sake of comparing it with BUFFON's description; though I have often examined the domestick and engaging *Mayanà*, which *bids us good morrow at our windows*, and expects, as its reward, little more than security: even when a fine young *Manis* or *Pangolin* was brought me, against my wish, from the mountains, I solicited his restoration to his beloved rocks, because I found it impossible to preserve him in comfort at a distance from them. There are several treatises on animals in *Arabick*, and very particular accounts of them in *Chinefe* with elegant outlines of their external appearance; but I have met with nothing valuable concerning them in *Persian*, except what may be gleaned from the medical dictionaries; nor have I yet seen a book in *Sanfcrít*, that expressly treats of them: on the whole, though rare animals may be found in all *Asia*, yet I can only recommend an examination of them with this condition, that they be left, as much as possible, in a state of natural freedom, or made as happy as possible, if it be necessary to keep them confined.

2. The history of minerals, to which no such objection can be made, is extremely simple and easy, if we merely consider their exterior look and configuration, and their visible texture; but the analysis of their internal properties belongs particularly to the sublime researches of Chymistry, on which we may hope to find useful disquisitions in *Sanfcrít*, since the old *Hindus* unquestionably applied themselves to that enchanting study; and even from their treatises on alchymy we may possibly collect the results of actual experiment, as their ancient astrological works have preserved many valuable facts relating to the *Indian* sphere and the precession of the equinox: both in *Persian* and *Sanfcrít* there
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are books on metals and minerals, particularly on *gems*, which the *Hindu* philosophers considered (with an exception of the diamond) as varieties of one crystalline substance either simple or compound: but we must not expect from the chymists of *Asia* those beautiful examples of analysis, which have but lately been displayed in the laboratories of *Europe*.

3. We now come to *Botany*, the loveliest and most copious division in the history of nature; and, all disputes on the comparative merit of systems being at length, I hope, condemned to *one perpetual night of undisturbed slumber*, we cannot employ our leisure more delightfully, than in describing all new *Asiatick* plants in the *Linnean* style and method, or in correcting the descriptions of those already known, but of which dry specimens only, or drawings, can have been seen by most *European* botanists: in this part of natural history we have an ample field yet unexplored; for, though many plants of *Arabia* have been made known by GARCÍAS, PROSPER ALPINUS, and FORSKÖEL, of *Persia*, by GARCIN, of *Tartary*, by GMELIN and PALLAS, of *China* and *Japan*, by KÖEMPFER, OSBECK, and THUNBERG, of *India*, by RHEEDE and RUMPHIUS, the two BURMANS, and the much-lamented KOENIG, yet none of those naturalists were deeply versed in the literature of the several countries, from which their vegetable treasures had been procured; and the numerous works in *Sanscrit* on medical substances, and chiefly on plants, have never been inspected, or never at least understood, by any *European* attached to the study of nature. Until the garden of the *India* Company shall be fully stored (as it will be, no doubt, in due time) with *Arabian*, *Persian*, and *Chinese* plants, we may well be satisfied with examining the native flowers of our own provinces; but, unless we can discover the *Sanscrit* names of all celebrated vegetables, we shall neither comprehend the allusions, which *Indian* poets perpetually make to them, nor (what is far worse) be able to find accounts of their tried virtues in the writings of *Indian* physicians; and (what is worst of all).

all) we shall miss an opportunity, which never again may present itself; for the *Pandits* themselves have almost wholly forgotten their ancient appellations of particular plants, and, with all my pains, I have not yet ascertained more than *two hundred* out of twice that number, which are named in their medical or poetical compositions. It is much to be deplored, that the illustrious VAN RHEEDE had no acquaintance with *Sanscrit*, which even his three *Bràhmens*, who composed the short preface engraved in that language, appear to have understood very imperfectly, and certainly wrote with disgraceful inaccuracy: in all his twelve volumes I recollect only *Punarnavà*, in which the *Nàgari* letters are tolerably right; the *Hindu* words in *Arabian* characters are shamefully incorrect; and the *Malabar*, I am credibly informed, is as bad as the rest. His delineations, indeed, are in general excellent; and, though LINNÆUS himself could not extract from his written descriptions the natural character of every plant in the collection, yet we shall be able, I hope, to describe them all from the life, and to add a considerable number of new *species*, if not of new *genera*, which RHEEDE, with all his noble exertions, could never procure. Such of our learned members, as profess medicine, will, no doubt, cheerfully assist in these researches, either by their own observations, when they have leisure to make any, or by communications from other observers among their acquaintance, who may reside in different parts of the country: and the mention of their art leads me to the various *uses* of natural substances, in the three kingdoms or classes to which they are generally reduced.

III. You cannot but have remarked, that almost all the *sciences*, as the *French* call them, which are distinguished by *Greek* names and arranged under the head of philosophy, belong for the most part to history; such are philology, chymistry, physics, anatomy, and even metaphysics, when we barely relate the phenomena of the human mind; for, in all branches of knowledge, we are only historians, when we announce facts,

facts, and philosophers, only when we reason on them: the same may be confidently said of law and of medicine, the first of which belongs principally to civil, and the second chiefly to natural, history. Here, therefore, I speak of *medicine*, as far only as it is grounded on experiment; and, without believing implicitly what *Arabs*, *Persians*, *Chinese*, or *Hindus* may have written on the virtues of medicinal substances, we may, surely, hope to find in their writings what our own experiments may confirm or disprove, and what might never have occurred to us without such intimations.

Europeans enumerate more than *two hundred and fifty* mechanical arts, by which the productions of nature may be variously prepared for the convenience and ornament of life; and, though the *Silpasastra* reduce them to *sixty-four*, yet ABU'LEAZL had been assured, that the *Hindus* reckoned *three hundred* arts and sciences: now, their sciences being comparatively few, we may conclude, that they anciently practised at least as many useful arts as ourselves. Several *Pandits* have informed me, that the treatises on art, which they call *Upavidas* and believe to have been inspired, are not so entirely lost, but that considerable fragments of them may be found at *Banares*; and they certainly possess many popular, but ancient, works on that interesting subject. The manufactures of sugar and indigo have been well known in these provinces for more than two thousand years; and we cannot entertain a doubt, that their *Sanscrit* books on dying and metallurgy contain very curious facts, which might, indeed, be discovered by accident in a long course of years, but which we may soon bring to light, by the help of *Indian* literature, for the benefit of manufacturers and artists, and consequently of our nation, who are interested in their prosperity. Discoveries of the same kind might be collected from the writings of other *Asiatick* nations, especially of the *Chinese*; but, though *Persian*, *Arabick*, *Turkish*, and *Sanscrit* are languages now so accessible, that, in order to obtain a sufficient knowledge

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of them, little more seems required than a strong inclination to learn them, yet the supposed number and intricacy of the *Chinese* characters have deterred our most diligent students from attempting to find their way through so vast a labyrinth: it is certain, however, that the difficulty has been magnified beyond the truth; for the perspicuous grammar by M. FOURMONT, together with a copious dictionary, which I possess, in *Chinese* and *Latin*, would enable any man, who pleased, to compare the original works of CONFUCIUS, which are easily procured, with the literal translation of them by COUPLET; and, having made that first step with attention, he would probably find, that he had traversed at least half of his career. But I should be led beyond the limits assigned to me on this occasion, if I were to expatiate farther on the historical division of the knowledge comprised in the literature of *Asia*; and I must postpone till next year my remarks on *Asiatick* philosophy and on those arts, which depend on imagination; promising you with confidence, that, in the course of the present year, your inquiries into the *civil and natural history* of this eastern world will be greatly promoted by the learned labours of many among our associates and correspondents.

DISCOURSE THE ELEVENTH.

ON

THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE ASIATICKS.

DELIVERED 20 FEBRUARY, 1794.

BY

THE PRESIDENT.

HAD it been of any importance, gentlemen, to arrange these anniversary dissertations according to the ordinary progress of the human mind, in the gradual expansion of its three most considerable powers, *memory*, *imagination*, and *reason*, I should certainly have presented you with an essay on the *liberal arts* of the five *Asiatick* nations, before I produced my remarks on their *abstract sciences*; because, from my own observation at least, it seems evident, that *fancy*, or the faculty of combining our ideas agreeably by various modes of imitation and substitution, is in general earlier exercised, and sooner attains maturity, than the power of separating and comparing those ideas by the laborious exertions of intellect; and hence, I believe, it has happened, that all nations in the world had poets before they had mere philosophers: but, as M. D'ALEMBERT has deliberately placed science before art, as the question
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of precedence is, on this occasion, of no moment whatever, and as many new facts on the subject of *Asiatick* philosophy are fresh in my remembrance, I propose to address you now on the sciences of *Asia*, reserving for our next annual meeting a disquisition concerning those fine arts, which have immemorially been cultivated, with different success and in very different modes, within the circle of our common inquiries.

By science I mean an assemblage of transcendental propositions discoverable by human reason, and reducible to first principles, axioms, or maxims, from which they may all be derived in a regular succession; and there are consequently as many sciences as there are general objects of our intellectual powers: when man first exerts those powers, his objects are *himself* and the rest of *nature*; himself he perceives to be composed of *body* and *mind*, and in his *individual* capacity, he reasons on the *uses* of his animal frame and of its parts both exterior and internal, on the *disorders* impeding the regular functions of those parts, and on the most probable methods of preventing those disorders or of removing them; he soon feels the close connexion between his corporal and mental faculties, and when his *mind* is reflected on itself, he discourses on its *essence* and its *operations*; in his *social* character, he analyzes his various *duties* and *rights* both private and publick; and in the leisure, which the fullest discharge of those duties always admits, his intellect is directed to *nature* at large, to the *substance* of natural bodies, to their several *properties*, and to their quantity both separate and united, finite and infinite; from all which objects he deduces notions, either purely abstract and universal, or mixed with undoubted facts, he argues from phenomena to theorems, from those theorems to other phenomena, from causes to effects, from effects to causes, and thus arrives at the demonstration of a *first intelligent cause*; whence his collected wisdom, being arranged in the form of science, chiefly consists of *physiology* and *medicine*, *metaphysics* and *logick*, *ethicks* and *jurisprudence*, *natural philosophy* and *mathematics*;
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from which the *religion of nature* (since revealed religion must be referred to *history*, as alone affording evidence of it) has in all ages and in all nations been the sublime and consoling result. Without professing to have given a logical definition of science, or to have exhibited a perfect enumeration of its objects, I shall confine myself to those *five* divisions of *Asiatick* philosophy, enlarging for the most part on the progress which the *Hindus* have made in them, and occasionally introducing the sciences of the *Arabs* and *Persians*, the *Tartars*, and the *Chinese*; but, how extensive soever may be the range which I have chosen, I shall beware of exhausting your patience with tedious discussions, and of exceeding those limits, which the occasion of our present meeting has necessarily prescribed.

I. THE first article affords little scope; since I have no evidence, that, in any language of *Asia*, there exists one original treatise on medicine considered as a *science*: physick, indeed, appears in these regions to have been from time immemorial, as we see it practised at this day by *Hindus* and *Muselmâns*, a mere empirical *history* of diseases and remedies; useful, I admit, in a high degree, and worthy of attentive examination, but wholly foreign to the subject before us: though the *Arabs*, however, have chiefly followed the *Greeks* in this branch of knowledge, and have themselves been implicitly followed by other *Mohammedan* writers, yet (not to mention the *Chinese*, of whose medical works I can at present say nothing with confidence) we still have access to a number of *Sanfrit* books on the old *Indian* practice of physick, from which, if the *Hindus* had a theoretical system, we might easily collect it. The *Ayurvêda*, supposed to be the work of a celestial physician, is almost entirely lost, unfortunately perhaps for the curious *European*, but happily for the patient *Hindu*; since a revealed science precludes improvement from experience, to which that of medicine ought, above all others, to be left perpetually open; but I have myself met with curious

fragments of that primeval work, and, in the *Vêda* itself, I found with astonishment an entire *Upanishad* on the internal parts of the human body ; with an enumeration of nerves, veins, and arteries, a description of the heart, spleen, and liver, and various disquisitions on the formation and growth of the fetus : from the laws, indeed, of *MENU*, which have lately appeared in our own language, we may perceive, that the ancient *Hindus* were fond of reasoning in their way on the mysteries of animal generation, and on the comparative influence of the sexes in the production of perfect offspring ; and we may collect from the authorities adduced in the learned Essay on *Egypt* and the *Nile*, that their physiological disputes led to violent schisms in religion, and even to bloody wars. On the whole, we cannot expect to acquire many valuable truths from an examination of eastern books on the science of medicine ; but examine them we must, if we wish to complete the history of universal philosophy, and to supply the scholars of *Europe* with authentic materials for an account of the opinions anciently formed on this head by the philosophers of *Asia* : to know, indeed, with certainty, that so much and no more can be known on any branch of science, would in itself be very important and useful knowledge, if it had no other effect than to check the boundless curiosity of mankind, and to fix them in the straight path of attainable science, especially of such as relates to their duties and may conduce to their happiness.

II. We have an ample field in the next division, and a field almost wholly new ; since the metaphysics and logick of the *Brâhmens*, comprised in their *six* philosophical *Sâstras*, and explained by numerous glosses or comments, have never yet been accessible to *Europeans* ; and, by the help of the *Sanscrit* language, we now may read the works of the *Saugatas*, *Bauddhas*, *A'rhatas*, *Jainas*, and other heterodox philosophers, whence we may gather the metaphysical tenets prevalent in *China* and *Japan*, in the eastern peninsula of *India*, and in many considerable nations

nations of *Tartary*: there are alſo ſome valuable tracts on theſe branches of ſcience in *Perſian* and *Arabick*, partly copied from the *Greeks*, and partly comprizing the doctrines of the *Suſis* which anciently prevailed, and ſtill prevail in great meaſure over this oriental world, and which the *Greeks* themſelves condeſcended to borrow from eaſtern pages.

The little treatiſe in four chapters, aſcribed to *Vyāsa*, is the only philoſophical *Sūtra*, the original text of which I have had leiſure to perute with a *Brāhmen* of the *Vēdānti* ſchool: it is extremely obſcure, and, though compoſed in ſentences elegantly modulated, has more reſemblance to a table of contents, or an accurate ſummary, than to a regular ſyſtematical tract; but all its obſcurity has been cleared by the labour of the very judicious and moſt learned SANCARA, whoſe commentary on the *Vēdānta*, which I read alſo with great attention, not only elucidates every word of the text, but exhibits a perſpicuous account of all other *Indian* ſchools, from that of CAPILA to thoſe of the more modern hereticks. It is not poſſible, indeed, to ſpeak with too much applauſe of ſo excellent a work; and I am confident in aſſerting, that, until an accurate tranſlation of it ſhall appear in ſome *European* language, the general hiſtory of philoſophy muſt remain incomplete; for I perfectly agree with thoſe, who are of opinion, that one correct verſion of any celebrated *Hindu* book would be of greater value than all the diſſertations or eſſays, that could be compoſed on the ſame ſubject; you will not, however, expect, that, in ſuch a diſcourſe as I am now delivering, I ſhould expatiate on the diverſity of *Indian* philoſophical ſchools, on the ſeveral founders of them, on the doctrines, which they reſpectively taught, or on their many diſciples, who diſſented from their inſtructors in ſome particular points. On the preſent occaſion, it will be ſufficient to ſay, that the oldeſt head of a ſect, whoſe entire work is preſerved, was (according to ſome authors) CAPILA; not the divine perſonage,

perfonage, a reputed grandson of BRAHMA', to whom CRI'SHNA compares himself in the *Gîtâ*, but a fage of his name, who invented the *Sânc'hya*, or *Numeral*, philosophy, which CRI'SHNA himself appears to impugn in his converfation with ARJUNA, and which, as far as I can recollect it from a few original texts, refembled in part the metaphyficks of PYTHAGORAS, and in part the theology of ZENO : his doctrines were enforced and illuftrated, with fome additions, by the venerable PATANJALI, who has alfo left us a fine comment on the grammatical rules of PA'NINI, which are more obfcure, without a glosf, than the darkeft oracle ; and here by the way let me add, that I refer to metaphyficks the curious and important fcience of *univerfal grammar*, on which many fubtil difquifitions may be found interfperfed in the particular grammars of the ancient *Hindus*, and in thofe of the more modern *Arabs*. The next founder, I believe, of a philofophical fchool was GO'RAMA, if, indeed, he was not the moft ancient of all ; for his wife ANA'LYA was, according to *Indian* legends, reftored to a human fhape by the great RA'MA ; and a fage of his name, whom we have no reafon to fuppofe a different perfonage, is frequently mentioned in the *Vêda* itfelf ; to his rational doctrines thofe of CANA'DA were in general conformable ; and the philofophy of them both is ufually called *Nyâya*, or *logical*, a title aptly beftowed ; for it feems to be a fyftem of metaphyficks and logick better accommodated than any other anciently known in *India*, to the natural reafon and common fenfe of mankind ; admitting the aâual exiftence of *material fubftance* in the popular acceptation of the word *matter*, and comprifing not only a body of fublime dialeâticks, but an artificial method of reafoning, with diftinct names for the three parts of a propofition, and even for thofe of a regular fyllogifm. Here I cannot refrain from introducing a fingular tradition, which prevailed, according to the well-informed author of the *Dabiftân*, in the *Panjâb* and in feveral *Persian* provinces, that, “ among other *Indian* curiofities, which “ CALLISTHENES transmitted to his uncle, was a *technical fyftem of logick*, “ which

“ which the *Bráhmens* had communicated to the inquisitive *Greek*,” and which the *Mohammedan* writer supposes to have been the groundwork of the famous *Aristotelean* method: if this be true, it is one of the most interesting facts, that I have met with in *Asia*; and if it be false, it is very extraordinary, that such a story should have been fabricated either by the candid *MOHSANI Fánì*; or by the simple *Pársís Pandits*, with whom he had conversed; but, not having had leisure to study the *Nyáya Sástra*, I can only assure you, that I have frequently seen perfect syllogisms in the philosophical writings of the *Bráhmens*, and have often heard them used in their verbal controversies. Whatever might have been the merit or age of *Go'TAMA*, yet the most celebrated *Indian* school is that, with which I began, founded by *VYA'SA*, and supported in most respects by his pupil *JAIMINI*, whose dissent on a few points is mentioned by his master with respectful moderation: their several systems are frequently distinguished by the names of the first and second *Mímánsú*, a word, which, like *Nyáya*, denotes the operations and conclusions of reason; but the tract of *VYA'SA* has in general the appellation of *Védánta*, or the scope and end of the *Véda*, on the texts of which, as they were understood by the philosopher, who collected them, his doctrines are principally grounded. The fundamental tenet of the *Védánti* school, to which in a more modern age the incomparable *SANCARA* was a firm and illustrious adherent, consisted, not in denying the existence of matter, that is, of solidity, impenetrability, and extended figure (to deny which would be lunacy), but, in correcting the popular notion of it, and in contending, that it has no essence independent of mental perception, that existence and perceptibility are convertible terms, that external appearances and sensations are illusory, and would vanish into nothing, if the divine energy, which alone sustains them, were suspended but for a moment; an opinion, which *EPICHRMUS* and *PLATO* seem to have adopted, and which has been maintained in the

present

present century with great elegance, but with little publick applause; partly because it has been misunderstood, and partly because it has been misapplied by the false reasoning of some unpopular writers, who are said to have disbelieved in the moral attributes of GOD, whose omnipresence, wisdom, and goodness are the basis of the *Indian* philosophy: I have not sufficient evidence on the subject to profess a belief in the doctrine of the *Védānta*, which human reason alone could, perhaps, neither fully demonstrate, nor fully disprove; but it is manifest, that nothing can be farther removed from impiety than a system wholly built on the purest devotion; and the inexpressible difficulty, which any man, who shall make the attempt, will assuredly find in giving a satisfactory definition of *material substance*, must induce us to deliberate with coolness, before we censure the learned and pious restorer of the ancient *Véda*; though we cannot but admit, that, if the common opinions of mankind be the criterion of philosophical truth, we must adhere to the system of GO'TAMA, which the *Bráhmens* of this province almost universally follow.

If the metaphysics of the *Védāntis* be wild and erroneous, the pupils of BUDDHA have run, it is asserted, into an error diametrically opposite; for they are charged with denying the existence of pure spirit, and with believing nothing absolutely and really to exist but *material substance*; a heavy accusation which ought only to have been made on positive and incontestable proof, especially by the orthodox *Bráhmens*, who, as BUDDHA dissented from their ancestors in regard to *bloody sacrifices*, which the *Véda* certainly prescribes, may not unjustly be suspected of low and interested malignity. Though I cannot credit the charge, yet I am unable to prove it entirely false, having only read a few pages of a *Saugata* book, which Captain KIRKPATRICK had lately the kindness to give me; but it begins, like other *Hindu* books, with the word *O'm*, which we know to be a symbol of the
divine

divine attributes : then follows, indeed, a mysterious hymn to the Goddeſs of Nature, by the name of *A'ryâ*, but with ſeveral other titles, which the *Brâhmens* themſelves continually beſtow on their *Dêvî* ; now the *Brâhmens*, who have no idea, that any ſuch perſonage exiſts as *DE'VI*, or the *Goddeſs*, and only mean to expreſs allegorically the *power* of GOD, exerted in creating, preſerving and renovating this univerſe, we cannot with juſtice infer, that the diſſenters admit no deity but *viſible nature*: the *Pandit*, who now attends me, and who told Mr. WILKINS, that the *Saugatas* were atheiſts, would not have attempted to reſiſt the deciſive evidence of the contrary, which appears in the very inſtrument, on which he was conſulted, if his underſtanding had not been blinded by the intolerant zeal of a mercenary prieſthood. A literal verſion of the book juſt mentioned (if any ſtudious man had learning and induſtry equal to the taſk) would be an ineſtimable treaſure to the compiler of ſuch a hiſtory as that of the laborious BRUCKER ; but let us proceed to the *morals* and *jurisprudence* of the *Aſiaticks*, on which I could expatiate, if the occaſion admitted a full diſcuſſion of the ſubject, with correctneſs and confidence.

III. THAT both ethicks and abſtract law might be reduced to the *method of ſcience*, cannot ſurely be doubted ; but, although ſuch a method would be of infinite uſe in a ſyſtem of univerſal, or even of national, jurisprudence, yet the *principles* of morality are ſo few, ſo luminous, and ſo ready to preſent themſelves on every occaſion, that the practical utility of a ſcientific arrangement, in a treatiſe on ethicks, may very juſtly be queſtioned. The moraliſts of the eaſt have in general choſen to deliver their precepts in ſhort ſententious maxims, to illuſtrate them by ſprightly compariſons, or to inculcate them in the very ancient form of agreeable apoloques : there are, indeed, both in *Arabick* and *Persian*, philoſophical traacts on ethicks written with ſound ratiocination and elegant perſpicuity : but in every part of this eaſtern world, from *Pekin* to *Damaſcus*, the popular teachers of
moral

moral wisdom have immemorially been poets, and there would be no end of enumerating their works, which are still extant in the five principal languages of *Asia*. Our divine religion, the truth of which (if any history be true) is abundantly proved by historical evidence, has no need of such aids, as many are willing to give it, by asserting, that the wisest men of this world were ignorant of the two great maxims, that *we must act in respect of others, as we should wish them to act in respect of ourselves*, and that, *instead of returning evil for evil, we should confer benefits even on those who injure us*; but the first rule is implied in a speech of *LYSIAS*, and expressed in distinct phrases by *THALES* and *PITTACUS*; and I have even seen it word for word in the original of *CONFUCIUS*, which I carefully compared with the *Latin* translation. It has been usual with zealous men, to ridicule and abuse all those, who dare on this point to quote the *Chinese* philosopher; but, instead of supporting their cause, they would shake it, if it could be shaken, by their uncandid asperity; for they ought to remember, that one great end of revelation, as it is most expressly declared, was not to instruct the wise and few, but the many and unenlightened. If the conversation, therefore, of the *Pandits* and *Maulavis* in this country shall ever be attempted by protestant missionaries, they must beware of asserting, while they teach the gospel of truth, what those *Pandits* and *Maulavis* would know to be false: the former would cite the beautiful *Aryâ* couplet, which was written at least three centuries before our era, and which pronounces the duty of a good man, even in the moment of his destruction, to consist *not only in forgiving, but even in a desire of benefiting, his destroyer, as the Sandal-tree, in the instant of its overthrow, sheds perfume on the axe, which fells it*; and the latter would triumph in repeating the verse of *SADI*, who represents *a return of good for good as a slight reciprocity*, but says to the virtuous man, “*Confer benefits on him, who has injured thee*,” using an *Arabick* sentence, and a maxim apparently of the ancient *Arabs*. Nor would the *Muselmans* fail to recite four distichs of *HA’FIZ*, who has illustrated that maxim with fanciful but elegant allusions;

Learn

Learn from yon orient shell to love thy foe,
 And store with pearls the hand, that brings thee wo:
 Free, like yon rock, from base vindictive pride,
 Imblaze with gems the wrist, that rends thy side:
 Mark, where yon tree rewards the stony show'r
 With fruit nectareous, or the balmy flow'r:
 All nature calls aloud: "Shall man do less
 Than heal the smiter, and the railer bless?"

Now there is not a shadow of reason for believing, that the poet of *Sbirax* had borrowed this doctrine from the *Christians*; but, as the cause of *Christianity* could never be promoted by falsehood or error, so it will never be obstructed by candour and veracity; for the lessons of *CONFUCIUS* and *CHANACYA*, of *SADI* and *HA'FIZ*, are unknown even at this day to millions of *Chinese* and *Hindus*, *Persians* and other *Mahomedans*, who toil for their daily support; nor, were they known ever so perfectly, would they have a divine sanction with the multitude; so that, in order to enlighten the minds of the ignorant, and to enforce the obedience of the perverse, it is evidently *a priori*, that a revealed religion was necessary in the great system of providence: but my principal motive for introducing this topick, was to give you a specimen of that ancient oriental morality, which is comprised in an infinite number of *Persian*, *Arabick*, and *Sanscrit* compositions.

Nearly one half of *jurisprudence* is closely connected with ethicks; but, since the learned of *Asia* consider most of their laws as positive and divine institutions, and not as the mere conclusions of human reason, and since I have prepared a mass of extremely curious materials, which I reserve for an introduction to the digest of *Indian* laws, I proceed to the fourth division, which consists principally of *science* transcendently so named, or *the knowledge of abstract quantities, of their limits, properties,*

and relations, impressed on the understanding with the force of irresistible *demonstration*, which, as all other knowledge depends at best on our fallible senses, and in great measure on still more fallible testimony, can only be found, in pure mental abstractions; though for all the purposes of life, our own senses, and even the credible testimony of others, give us in most cases the highest degree of certainty, physical and moral.

IV. I HAVE already had occasion to touch on the *Indic* metaphysics of *natural bodies* according to the most celebrated of the *Asiatick* schools, from which the *Pythagoreans* are supposed to have borrowed many of their opinions; and, as we learn from CICERO, that the old sages of *Europe* had an idea of *centripetal force* and a principle of *universal gravitation* (which they never indeed attempted to demonstrate), so I can venture to affirm, without meaning to pluck a leaf from the neverfading laurels of our immortal NEWTON, that the whole of his theology and part of his philosophy may be found in the *Védas* and even in the works of the *Súfis*: that *most subtil spirit*, which he suspected to pervade natural bodies, and, lying concealed in them, to cause attraction and repulsion, the emission, reflection, and refraction of light, electricity, calcfaction, sensation, and muscular motion, is described by the *Hindus* as a *fifth element* endued with those very powers; and the *Védas* abound with allusions to a force universally attractive, which they chiefly ascribe to the Sun, thence called *Aditya*, or the *Attractor*; a name designed by the mythologists to mean the child of the Goddess ADITI; but the most wonderful passage on the theory of attraction occurs in the charming allegorical poem of SHI'RI'N and FERHA'D, or the *Divine Spirit* and a *human Soul disinterestedly pious*; a work which from the first verse to the last, is a blaze of religious and poetical fire. The whole passage appears to me so curious, that I make no apology for giving you a faithful translation of it: “ There is a strong propensity, “ which dances through every atom, and attracts the minutest particle
“ to

“ to some peculiar object ; search this universe from its base to its sum-
 “ mit, from fire to air, from water to earth, from all below the Moon
 “ to all above the celestial spheres, and thou wilt not find a corpuscle
 “ destitute of that natural attractibility ; the very point of the first
 “ thread, in this apparently tangled skein, is no other than such a prin-
 “ ciple of attraction, and all principles beside are void of a real basis ;
 “ from such a propensity arises every motion perceived in heavenly or
 “ in terrestrial bodies ; it is a disposition to be attracted, which taught
 “ hard steel to rush from its place and rivet itself on the magnet ; it is
 “ the same disposition, which impels the light straw to attach itself
 “ firmly on amber ; it is this quality, which gives every substance in
 “ nature a tendency toward another, and an inclination forcibly directed
 “ to a determinate point.” These notions are vague, indeed, and un-
 satisfactory ; but permit me to ask, whether the last paragraph of NEW-
 TON’s incomparable work goes much farther, and whether any subse-
 quent experiments have thrown light on a subject so abstruse and ob-
 scure : that the sublime astronomy and exquisitely beautiful geometry,
 with which that work is illumined, should in any degree be approached
 by the Mathematicians of *Asia*, while of all *Europeans*, who ever lived,
 ARCHIMEDES alone was capable of emulating them, would be a vain
 expectation ; but we must suspend our opinion of *Indian* astronomical
 knowledge, till the *Sûrya Siddhânta* shall appear in our own language,
 and even then (to adopt a phrase of CICERO) our *gravid and capacious*
ears will by no means be satisfied ; for in order to complete an histori-
 cal account of genuine *Hindu* astronomy, we require verbal translations
 of at least three other *Sanserit* books ; of the treatise by PARASARA,
 for the first age of *Indian* science, of that by VARA’HA, with the co-
 pious comment of his very learned son, for the middle age, and of
 those written by BHASCARA, for times comparatively modern. The
 valuable and now accessible works of the last mentioned philosopher,
 contain also an *universal*, or *specious*, arithmetick, with one chapter at
 least

least on geometry; nor would it, surely, be difficult to procure, through our several residents with the *Pishwá* and with SCINDHYA, the older books on algebra, which BHASCARA mentions, and on which Mr. DAVIS would justly set a very high value; but the *Sanscrit* work, from which we might expect the most ample and important information, is entitled *Cshétrádersa*, or a *View of Geometrical Knowledge*, and was compiled in a very large volume by order of the illustrious JAYASINHA, comprising all that remains on that science in the sacred language of *India*: it was inspected in the west by a *Pandit* now in the service of Lieutenant WILFORD, and might, I am persuaded, be purchased at *Jayanagar*, where Colonel POLIER had permission from the *Rájá* to buy the four *Védas* themselves. Thus have I answered, to the best of my power, the three first questions obligingly transmitted to us by professor PLAYFAIR; whether the *Hindus* have books in *Sanscrit* expressly on geometry, whether they have any such on arithmetick, and whether a translation of the *Súrya Siddhánta* be not the great *desideratum* on the subject of *Indian* astronomy: to his three last questions, whether an accurate summary account of all the *Sanscrit* works on that subject, a delineation of the *Indian* celestial sphere, with correct remarks on it, and a description of the astronomical instruments used by the ancient *Hindus*, would not severally be of great utility, we cannot but answer in the affirmative, provided that the utmost critical sagacity were applied in distinguishing such works, constellations, and instruments, as are clearly of *Indian* origin, from such as were introduced into this country by *Muselman* astronomers from *Tartary* and *Persia*, or in later days by Mathematicians from *Europe*.

V. From all the properties of man and of nature, from all the various branches of science, from all the deductions of human reason, the general corollary, admitted by *Hindus*, *Arabs*, and *Tartars*, by *Persians*, and by *Chinese*, is the supremacy of an all-creating and all-preserving spirit, infinitely

infinitely wise, good, and powerful, but infinitely removed from the comprehension of his most exalted creatures ; nor are there in any language (the ancient *Hebrew* always excepted) more pious and sublime addressees to the being of beings, more splendid enumerations of his attributes, or more beautiful descriptions of his visible works, than in *Arabick*, *Persian* and *Sanscrit*, especially in the *Koran*, the introductions to the poems of SADI', NIZA'M'I, and FIRDAUS'I, the four *Védas* and many parts of the numerous *Puránas* : but supplication and praise would not satisfy the boundless imagination of the *Vedánti* and *Sûfi* theologists, who blending uncertain metaphysics with undoubted principles of religion, have presumed to reason confidently on the very nature and essence of the divine spirit, and asserted in a very remote age, what multitudes of *Hindus* and *Muselmans* assert at this hour, that all spirit is homogeneous, that the spirit of GOD is in kind the same with that of man, though differing from it infinitely in degree, and that, as material substance is mere illusion, there exists in this universe only one generick spiritual substance, the sole primary cause, efficient, substantial and formal of all secondary causes and of all appearances whatever, but endued in its highest degree, with a sublime providential wisdom, and proceeding by ways incomprehensible to the spirits which emanate from it ; an opinion, which GO TAMA never taught, and which we have no authority to believe, but which, as it is grounded on the doctrine of an immaterial creator supremely wise, and a constant preserver supremely benevolent, differs as widely from the pantheism of SPINOZA and TOLAND, as the affirmation of a proposition differs from the negation of it ; though the last named professor of that *insane philosophy* had the baseness to conceal his meaning under the very words of SAINT PAUL, which are cited by NEWTON for a purpose totally different, and has even used a phrase, which occurs, indeed, in the *Véda*, but in a sense diametrically opposite to that, which he would have given it. The passage, to which I allude, is in a speech of VARUNA to his son, where he says : “ That
“ spirit,

“ spirit, from which these created beings proceed ; through which
“ having proceeded from it, they live ; toward which they tend and
“ in which they are ultimately absorbed, that spirit study to know ; that
“ spirit is the Great One.”

The subject of this discourse, gentlemen, is inexhaustible : it has been my endeavour to say as much on it as possible in the fewest words ; and, at the beginning of next year, I hope to close these general disquisitions with topics measureless in extent, but less abstruse than that, which has this day been discussed, and better adapted to the gaiety, which seems to have prevailed in the learned banquets of the *Greeks*, and which ought, surely, to prevail in every symposiack assembly.

The System of
INDIAN, ARABIAN, and PERSIAN
LETTERS.

(Soft and hard Breathings)

	a or e	ha	hha	
<i>Fowels</i>	<i>Diphthongs</i>	<i>and</i>	<i>Seminowels</i>	
ā ā.	a, â	e	ê	y a
i	î	o	ô	wa
u	û	a i	au	ra
r ĩ	r î	lr ĩ	lr î	la
â â	ê ê	î î	û û	â â

Consonants

ca	c'ha }		g'ha }	
ka	kha }	ga	gha }	na
sa	sha	za	zha	sa
ġa	ġ'ha }	ġa	{ d'ha }	na
			{ dha }	
ta	{ t'ha }	da	{ d'ha }	na
	{ tha }		{ dha }	
pa	{ p'ha }	ba	{ b'ha }	ma
	{ fa }		{ va }	

Compounds.

cha	ch,ha	ja	jha	nya
za	ža	ža	csha	jnya

A DISSERTATION
ON THE
ORTHOGRAPHY OF ASIATICK WORDS
IN ROMAN LETTERS.

BY
THE PRESIDENT.

EVERY man, who has occasion to compose tracts on *Asiatick* Literature, or to translate from the *Asiatick* Languages, must always find it convenient, and sometimes necessary, to express *Arabian*, *Indian*, and *Persian* words, or sentences, in the characters generally used among *Europeans*; and almost every writer in those circumstances has a method of notation peculiar to himself: but none has yet appeared in the form of a complete system; so that each original sound may be rendered invariably by one appropriated symbol, conformably to the natural order of articulation, and with a due regard to the primitive power of the *Roman* alphabet, which modern *Europe* has in general adopted. A want of attention to this object has occasioned great confusion in History and Geography. The ancient *Greeks*, who made a voluntary sacrifice of truth to the delicacy of their ears, appear to have altered by design almost all the oriental names, which they introduced into their

elegant,

elegant, but romantick, Histories; and even their more modern Geographers, who were too vain, perhaps, of their own language to learn any other, have so strangely disguised the proper appellations of countries, cities, and rivers in *Asia*, that, without the guidance of the sagacious and indefatigable M. D'ANVILLE, it would have been as troublesome to follow ALEXANDER through the *Panjab* on the Ptolemaick map of AGATHODÆMON, as actually to travel over the same country in its present state of rudeness and disorder. They had an unwarrantable habit of moulding foreign names to a *Grecian* form, and giving them a resemblance to some derivative word in their own tongue: thus, they changed the *Gogra* into *Agoranis*, or *a river of the assembly*, *Ucbah* into *Oxydracæ*, or *sharp-sighted*, and *Renas* into *Atornos*, or *a rock inaccessible to birds*; whence their poets, who delighted in wonders, embellished their works with new images, distinguishing regions and fortresses by properties, which existed only in imagination. If we have less liveliness of fancy than the Ancients, we have more accuracy, more love of truth, and, perhaps, more solidity of judgement; and, if our works shall afford less delight to those, in respect of whom we shall be Ancients, it may be said without presumption, that we shall give them more correct information on the History and Geography of this eastern world; since no man can perfectly describe a country, who is unacquainted with the language of it. The learned and entertaining work of M. D'HERBELOT, which professes to interpret and elucidate the names of persons and places, and the titles of books, abounds also in citations from the best writers of *Arabia* and *Persia*; yet, though his orthography will be found less defective than that of other writers on similar subjects, without excepting the illustrious Prince KANTEMIR, still it requires more than a moderate knowledge of *Persian*, *Arabick*, and *Turkish*, to comprehend all the passages quoted by him in *European* characters; one instance of which I cannot forbear giving. In the account of *Ibnu Zaidùn*, a celebrated *Andalusian* poet, the first couplet

of

of an elegy in *Arabick* is praised for its elegance, and expressed thus in *Roman* letters :

Iekad hein tenagikom dhamairna;
Iacdha âlaina alaffa laula taffina.

“ The time, adds the translator, will soon come, when you will
“ deliver us from all our cares: the remedy is assured, provided we
“ have a little patience.” When Dr. HUNT of *Oxford*, whom I am bound to name with gratitude and veneration, together with two or three others, attempted at my request to write the same distich in *Arabian* characters, they all wrote it differently, and all, in my present opinion, erroneously. I was then a very young student, and could not easily have procured *Ibnu Zaidûn’s* works, which are, no doubt, preserved in the *Bodley* library, but which have not since fallen in my way. This admired couplet, therefore, I have never seen in the original characters, and confess myself at a loss to render them with certainty. Both verses are written by *D’Herbelot* without attention to the grammatical points, that is, in a form which no learned *Arab* would give them in recitation; but, although the *French* version be palpably erroneous, it is by no means easy to correct the error. If *âlâsâ* or a *remedy* be the true reading, the negative particle must be absurd, since *tadâssalnâ* signifies *we are patient*, and not *we despair*, but, if *âlîsâ* or *affliction* be the proper word, some obscurity must arise from the verb, with which it agrees. On the whole I guess, that the distich should thus be written :

يَكَادُ حِينَ تَنَاجِيكُمْ ضَايِرُنَا
يَقْضِي عَلَيْنَا الْأَسَى لَوْلَا تَأْسِينَا

Yecádu bbína tunájicum d'emüirunà

Yakdì álainà 'lálay lau là taáfsinà.

“ When our bosoms impart their secrets to you, anguish would almost
“ fix our doom, if we were not mutually to console ourselves.”

The principal verbs may have a future sense, and the last word may admit of a different interpretation. Dr. HUNT, I remember, had found in GIGGEIUS the word *dbemáyey*, which he conceived to be in the original. After all, the rhyme seems imperfect, and the measure irregular. Now I ask, whether such perplexities could have arisen, if *D'Herbelot* or his Editor had formed a regular system of expressing *Arabick* in *Roman* characters, and had apprized his readers of it in his introductory dissertation?

If a further proof be required, that such a system will be useful to the learned and essential to the student, let me remark, that a learner of *Persian*, who should read in our best histories the life of Sultan AZIM, and wish to write his name in *Arabick* letters, might express it *thirty-nine* different ways, and be wrong at last: the word should be written *Áázem* with three points on the first consonant.

There are two general modes of exhibiting *Asiatick* words in our own letters: they are founded on principles nearly opposite, but each of them has its advantages, and each has been recommended by respectable authorities. The first professes to regard chiefly the *pronunciation* of the words intended to be expressed; and this method, as far as it can be pursued, is unquestionably useful: but new sounds are very inadequately presented to a sense not formed to receive them; and the reader must in the end be left to pronounce many letters and syllables precariously; besides, that by this mode of orthography all grammatical analogy is
destroyed,

destroyed, simple sounds are represented by double characters, vowels of one denomination stand for those of another; and possibly with all our labour we perpetuate a provincial or inelegant pronunciation: all these objections may be made to the usual way of writing *Kummerbund*, in which neither the letters nor the true sound of them are preserved, while *Kemberbend*, or *Cemberbend*, as an ancient *Briton* would write it, clearly exhibits both the original characters and the *Persian* pronunciation of them. To set this point in a strong light, we need only suppose, that the *French* had adopted a system of letters wholly different from ours, and of which we had no types in our printing-houses: let us conceive an *Englishman* acquainted with their language to be pleased with MALHERBE's well-known imitation of *Horace*, and desirous of quoting it in some piece of criticism. He would read thus:

- ‘ La mort a des rigueurs à nulle autre pareilles ;
- ‘ On a beau la prier :
- ‘ La cruelle qu’elle est se bouche les oreilles,
- ‘ Et nous laisse crier.

- ‘ Le pauvre en sa cabane, ou le chaume le couvre,
- ‘ Est sujet à ses loix,
- ‘ Et la garde, qui veille aux barrières du *Louvre*,
- ‘ N’en défend pas nos rois !’

Would he then express these eight verses, in *Roman* characters, exactly as the *French* themselves in fact express them, or would he decorate his composition with a passage more resembling the dialect of savages, than that of a polished nation? His pronunciation, good or bad, would, perhaps, be thus represented:

- ‘ Law more aw day reegywrs aw nool otruh parellyuh,
- ‘ Onne aw bo law preeay :
- ‘ Law crooellyuh kellay fuh boofhuh lays oreellyuh,
- ‘ Ay noo layfuh creeay.
- ‘ Luh povre ong faw cawbawn oo luh chomuh luh coovruh,
- ‘ Ay foozyet aw fay lwaw,
- ‘ Ay law gawrduh kee velly ò bawryayruh dyoo *Loovrub*
- ‘ Nong dayfong paw no rwaw !’

The second system of *Asiatick* Orthography consists in scrupulously rendering letter for letter, without any particular care to preserve the pronunciation ; and, as long as this mode proceeds by unvaried rules, it seems clearly entitled to preference.

For the first method of writing *Persian* words the warmest advocate, among my acquaintance, was the late Major DAVY, a Member of our Society, and a man of parts, whom the world lost prematurely at a time, when he was meditating a literary retirement, and hoping to pass the remainder of his life in domestick happiness, and in the cultivation of his very useful talents. He valued himself particularly on his pronunciation of the *Persian* language, and on his new way of exhibiting it in our characters, which he instructed the learned and amiable Editor of his *Institutes of Timour at Oxford* to retain with minute attention throughout his work. Where he had acquired his refined articulation of the *Persian*, I never was informed ; but it is evident, that he spells most proper names in a manner, which a native of *Persia*, who could read our letters, would be unable to comprehend. For instance : that the capital of *Azarbáijàn* is now called *Tabriz*, I know from the mouth of a person born in that city, as well as from other *Iranians* ; and that it was so called sixteen hundred years ago, we all know from the Geo-
graphy

graphy of *Ptolemy*; yet Major DAVY always wrote it *Tubburaze*, and insisted that it should thus be pronounced. Whether the natives of *Semerkand*, or *Samarkand*, who probably speak the dialect of *Soghd* with a *Turanian* pronunciation, call their birthplace, as DAVY spelled it, *Summurkund*, I have yet to learn; but I cannot believe it, and am convinced, that the former mode of writing the word expresses both the letters and the sound of them better than any other combination of characters. His method, therefore, has every defect; since it renders neither the original elements of words, nor the sounds represented by them in *Persia*, where alone we must seek for genuine *Persian*, as for *French* in *France*, and for *Italian* in *Italy*.

The second method has found two able supporters in Mr. HALHED and Mr. WILKINS; to the first of whom the publick is indebted for a perspicuous and ample grammar of the *Bengal* language, and to the second for more advantages in *Indian* literature than *Europe*, or *India*, can ever sufficiently acknowledge.

Mr. HALHED, having justly remarked, ‘ that the two greatest defects in the orthography of any language are the application of the same letter to several different sounds, and of different letters to the same sound,’ truly pronounces them both to be ‘ so common in *English*, that he was exceedingly embarrassed in the choice of letters to express the sound of the *Bengal* vowels, and was at last by no means satisfied with his own selection.’ If any thing dissatisfies me, in his clear and accurate system, it is the use of *double* letters for the long vowels (which might however be justified) and the frequent intermixture of *Italick* with *Roman* letters in the same word; which both in writing and printing must be very inconvenient: perhaps it may be added, that his diphthongs are not expressed analogously to the sounds, of which they are composed.

The system of Mr. WILKINS has been equally well considered, and Mr. HALHED himself has indeed adopted it in his preface to the *Compilation of Hindu Laws*: it principally consists of double letters to signify our third and fifth vowels, and of the common prosodial marks to ascertain their brevity or their length; but those marks are so generally appropriated to books of prosody, that they never fail to convey an idea of metre; nor, if *either* prosodial sign were adopted, would *both* be necessary; since the omission of a long mark would evidently denote the shortness of the unmarked vowel, or conversely. On the whole, I cannot but approve this notation for *Sanscrit* words, yet require something more universally expressive of *Asiatick* letters: as it is perfect, however, in its kind, and will appear in the works of its learned inventor, I shall annex, among the examples, four distichs from the *Bhāgavat* expressed both in his method and mine*: a translation of them will be produced on another occasion; but, in order to render this tract as complete as possible, a fuller specimen of *Sanscrit* will be subjoined with the original printed in the characters of *Bengal*, into which the *Brahmans* of that province transpose all their books, few of them being able to read the *Dévanāgarī* letters: so far has their indolence prevailed over their piety!

Let me now proceed, not prescribing rules for others, but explaining those which I have prescribed for myself, to unfold my own system, the convenience of which has been proved by careful observation and long experience.

It would be superfluous to discourse on the organs of speech, which have been a thousand times dissected, and as often described by musicians or anatomists; and the several powers of which every man may perceive either by the touch or by sight, if he will attentively observe

* Plate IV.

another person pronouncing the different classes of letters, or pronounce them himself distinctly before a mirror : but a short analysis of articulate sounds may be proper to introduce an examination of every separate symbol.

All things abound with error, as the old searchers for truth remarked with despondence ; but it is really deplorable, that our first step from total ignorance should be into gross inaccuracy, and that we should begin our education in *England* with learning to read *the five vowels*, two of which, as we are taught to pronounce them, are clearly diphthongs. There are, indeed, five simple vocal sounds in our language, as in that of *Rome* ; which occur in the words *an innocent bull*, though not precisely in their natural order, for we have retained the true arrangement of the letters, while we capriciously disarrange them in pronunciation ; so that our eyes are satisfied, and our ears disappointed. The primary elements of articulation are the *soft* and *hard breathings*, the *spiritus lenis* and *spiritus asper* of the *Latin* Grammarians. If the lips be opened ever so little, the breath suffered gently to pass through them, and the feeblest utterance attempted, a sound is formed of so simple a nature, that, when lengthened, it continues nearly the same, except that, by the least acuteness in the voice it becomes a cry, and is probably the first sound uttered by infants ; but if, while this element is articulated, the breath be forced with an effort through the lips, we form an *aspirate* more or less harsh in proportion to the force exerted. When, in pronouncing the simple vowel, we open our lips wider, we express a sound completely articulated, which most nations have agreed to place the *first* in their symbolical systems : by opening them wider still with the corners of them a little drawn back, we give birth to the *second* of the *Roman* vowels, and by a large aperture, with a farther inflexion of the lips and a higher elevation of the tongue, we utter the *third* of them. By pursing up our lips in the least degree, we convert the simple element into another

other sound of the same nature with the *first* vowel, and easily confounded with it in a broad pronunciation: when this new sound is lengthened, it approaches very nearly to the *fourth* vowel, which we form by a bolder and stronger rotundity of the mouth; a farther contraction of it produces the *fifth* vowel, which in its elongation almost closes the lips, a small passage only being left for the breath. These are all short vowels; and, if an *Italian* were to read the words *an innocent bull*, he would give the sound of each corresponding long vowel, as in the monosyllables of his own language, *ŭ, ĩ, ȳ, ē, ŷ*. Between these ten vowels are numberless gradations, and nice inflexions, which use only can teach; and, by the composition of them all, might be formed an hundred diphthongs, and a thousand triphthongs; many of which are found in *Italian*, and were probably articulated by the *Greeks*; but we have only occasion, in this tract, for two diphthongs, which are compounded of the *first* vowel with the *third*, and with the *fifth*, and should be expressed by their constituent letters: as to those vocal compounds which begin with the *third* and *fifth* short vowels, they are generally and not inconveniently rendered by distinct characters, which are improperly ranged among the consonants. The tongue, which assists in forming some of the vowels, is the principal instrument in articulating two liquid sounds, which have something of a vocal nature; one, by striking the roots of the upper teeth, while the breath passes gently through the lips, another, by an inflexion upwards with a tremulous motion; and these two liquids coalesce with such ease, that a mixed letter, used in some languages, may be formed by the first of them followed by the second: when the breath is obstructed by the pressure of the tongue, and forced between the teeth on each side of it, a liquid is formed peculiar to the *British* dialect of the *Celtick*.

We may now consider in the same order, beginning with the root of the tongue and ending with the perfect close of the lips, those less musical

musical sounds, which require the aid of a *vowel*, or at least of the *simple breathing*, to be fully articulated; and it may here be premised, that the *harsh breathing* distinctly pronounced after each of these *consonants*, as they are named by grammarians, constitutes its proper *aspirate*.

By the assistance of the tongue and the palate are produced two congenial sounds, differing only as *hard* and *soft*; and these two may be formed still deeper in the throat, so as to imitate, with a long vowel after them, the voice of a raven; but if, while they are uttered, the breath be harshly protruded, two analogous articulations are heard, the second of which seems to characterize the pronunciation of the *Arabs*; while the nasal sound, very common among the *Persians* and *Indians*, may be considered as the *soft palatine* with part of the breath passing through the nose; which organ would by itself rather produce a *vocal* sound, common also in *Arabia*, and not unlike the cry of a young antelope and some other quadrupeds.

Next come different classes of *dentals*, and among the first of them should be placed the *sibilants*, which most nations express by an *indented* figure: each of the *dental* sounds is hard or soft, sharp or obtuse, and, by thrusting the tip of the tongue between the teeth, we form two sounds exceedingly common in *Arabick* and *English*, but changed into lisping sibilants by the *Persians* and *French*, while they on the other hand have a sound unknown to the *Arabs*, and uncommon in our language, though it occurs in some words by the composition of the hard sibilant with our last vowel pronounced as a diphthong. The liquid *nasal* follows these, being formed by the tongue and roots of the teeth, with a little assistance from the other organ; and we must particularly remember, when we attend to the pronunciation of *Indian* dialects, that most sounds of this class are varied in a singular manner by turning the tongue

upwards, and almost bending it back towards the palate, so as to exclude them nearly from the order, but not from the analogy, of dentals.

The *labials* form the last series, most of which are pronounced by the appulse of the lips on each other or on the teeth, and one of them by their perfect close: the letters, by which they are denoted, represent in most alphabets the curvature of one lip or of both; and a *natural character* for all articulate sounds might easily be agreed on, if nations would agree on any thing generally beneficial, by delineating the several organs of speech in the act of articulation, and selecting from each a distinct and elegant outline. A perfect language would be that, in which every idea, capable of entering the human mind, might be neatly and emphatically expressed by one specifick word, simple if the idea were simple, complex, if complex; and on the same principle a perfect system of letters ought to contain one specifick symbol for every sound used in pronouncing the language to which they belonged: in this respect the old *Persian* or *Zend* approaches to perfection; but the *Arabian* alphabet, which all *Mohammedan* nations have inconsiderately adopted, appears to me so complete for the purpose of writing *Arabick*, that not a letter could be added or taken away without manifest inconvenience, and the same may indubitably be said of the *Dévanagari* system; which, as it is more naturally arranged than any other, shall here be the standard of my particular observations on *Asiatick* letters. Our *English* alphabet and orthography are disgracefully and almost ridiculously imperfect; and it would be impossible to express either *Indian*, *Persian*, or *Arabian* words in *Roman* characters, as we are absurdly taught to pronounce them; but a mixture of new characters would be inconvenient, and by the help of the diacritical marks used by the *French*, with a few of those adopted in our own treatises on *fluxions*, we may apply our present alphabet so happily to the notation of all *Asiatick* languages, as to
equal

अ आ इ ई उ ऊ ऋ ॠ

ऌ ॡ ए ऐ ओ औ अं अः

क का कि की कु कू कु कृ

कृ कृ के कै को कौ कं कः

ख ग घ ङ च छ ज झ ञ

ट ठ ड ढ ण त थ द ध न

प फ ब भ म य र ल व श

ष स ह क्ष श

equal the *Dévanagari* itself in precision and clearness, and so regularly that any one, who knew the original letters, might rapidly and unerringly transpose into them all the proper names, appellatives, or cited passages, occurring in tracts of *Asiatick* literature.

अ

This is the simplest element of articulation, or first *vocal* sound, concerning which enough has been said: the word *America* begins and ends with it; and its proper symbol therefore is A; though it may be often very conveniently expressed by E, for reasons, which I shall presently offer. In our own anomalous language we commonly mark this elementary sound by our *fifth* vowel, but sometimes express it by a strange variety both of vowels and diphthongs; as in the phrase, *a mother bird flutters over her young*; an irregularity, which no regard to the derivation of words or to blind custom can in any degree justify. The *Nagari* letter is called *Acàr*, but is pronounced in *Bengal* like our *fourth* short vowel, and in the *west* of *India*, like our *first*: in all the dialects properly *Indian* it is considered as *inherent* in every consonant; and is placed last in the system of the *Tibetians*, because the letters, which include it, are first explained in their schools. If our double consonants were invariably connected, as in *Sanscrit*, it would certainly be the better way to omit the simple element, except when it begins a word. This letter answers to the *fat-hhak*, or *open* sound of the *Arabs*, and, in some few words, to the *Zeber* of the *Persians*, or an acute accent placed *above* the letter; but this *Arabian* mark, which was supplied in the *Pahlavi* by a distinct character, is more frequently pronounced at *Isfahan* either like our *first* or our *second* short vowel, as in *chashm* and *serzend*, and the distinction seems to depend, in general, on the nature of the consonant, which follows it. Two of our letters, therefore, are necessary for the
complete

complete notation of the *acâr* and *zeber*; and thus we may be able occasionally to avoid ridiculous or offensive equivocations in writing Oriental words, and to preserve the true pronunciation of the *Perfians*, which differs as widely from that of the *Munimans* in *India*, as the language of our Court at *St. James's* differs from that of the rusticks in the *Gentle Shepherd*.



When the *first* vowel, as the *Perfians* pronounce it in the word *bakht*, is doubled or prolonged as in *bákht*, it has the sound of the second *Núgarì* vowel, and of the first *Arabick* letter, that is, of our long vowel in *cast*; but the *Arabs* deride the *Perfians* for their broad pronunciation of this letter, which in *Iràn* has always the sound of our vowel in *call*, and is often so prolated, as to resemble the *fourth* and even the *fifth* of our long vowels. Its natural mark would be the short *A* doubled; but an *acute* accent in the middle of words, or a *grave* at the end of them, will be equally clear, and conformable to the practice of polished nations on the continent of *Europe*. The very broad sound of the *Arabian* letter, which they call *extended*, and which the *Perfians* extend yet more, as in the word *úsàn*, may aptly enough be represented by the prosodial sign, since it is constantly long; whereas the mark *hamzah* as constantly *shortens* the letter, and gives it the sound of the point above, or below, it; as in the words *úsùl* and *Islàm*: the changes of this letter may perplex the learner, but his perplexity will soon vanish, as he advances. In writing *Asiatick* names, we frequently confound the broad *à* with its correspondent short vowel, which we improperly express by an *O*; thus we write *Cossim* for *Kásim* in defiance of analogy and correctness. Our vowel in *fond* occurs but seldom, if ever, in *Arabian*, *Indian*, or *Persian* words: it is placed, nevertheless, in the general system with the short prosodial mark, and stands at the head of the vowels, because it is in truth only a variation of the simple breathing.

Our

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صشسپرزردوچخجبابا

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ی لا و ن م ل ک ف غ ج ط ح

ن ن ن ا ن ا ن ا ن

[illegible]

इ

Our *third* vowel, correctly pronounced, appears next in the *Nágarí* system; for our *second* short vowel has no place in it. This vocal sound is represented in *Arabick* by an accute accent *under* the letter; which at *Mecca* has almost invariably the same pronunciation; but, since, in the *Zend*, a character like the *Greek E-pílon* represents both our *second* and *third* short vowels, the *Persians* often pronounce *zèr* like *zeber*, calling this country *Hend*, and the natives of it *Hendùs*: nevertheless it will be proper to denote the *Sanscrit icàr*, and the *Arabian cafr* by one unaltered symbol; as in the words *Indra* and *Imám*.

ऐ

The *third* vowel produced or lengthened is, for the reason before suggested, best marked by an accent either acute or grave, as in *Italian*:

Se cerca, se dice:
 L'amico dov'è?
 L'amico infelice,
 Rispondi, morì!
 Ah! no; sì gran duolo
 Non darle per me.
 Rispondi, ma solo:
 Piangendo partì.

It was once my practice to represent this long vowel by two marks, as in the words *Lebeid* and *Deiwàn*, to denote the *point* in *Arabick* as well as the letter above it; but my present opinion is, that *Lebìd* and *Dìwàn* are more conformable to analogy, and to the *Italian* orthography, which of all *European* systems approaches nearest to perfection.

This

§

This is our *fifth* vowel; for our *fourth* short one is, like our *second*, rejected from the pure pronunciation of the *Sanſcrit* in the well of *India* and at *Bándaras*, though the *Bengaleſe* retain it in the fiſt *Nágarí* letter, which they call *ocàr*: to the notation of this ſound, our vowel in *full* and the *Persian* in *gul* ſhould be conſtantly appropriated, ſince it is a ſimple articulation, and cannot without impropriety be repreſented by a double letter. It answers to *bu-psiſon*, and, like that, is often confounded with *iota*: thus *muſhc* has the ſound of *miſhc* among the modern *Persians*, as *Numpba* was pronounced *Nymphá* by the *Romans*. The *damm* of the *Arabs* is, however, frequently founded, eſpecially in *Persia*, like our ſhort *O* in *memory*, and the choice of two marks for a variable ſound is not improper in itſelf, and will ſometimes be found very convenient.

§

The ſame lengthened, and properly expreſſed by an accent, as in the word *virtù*: it is a very long vowel in *Persian*, ſo as nearly to treble the quantity of its correſpondent ſhort one; and this, indeed, may be obſerved of all the long vowels in the genuine *Iſfahámi* pronunciation; but the letter *vâù* is often redundant, ſo as not to alter the ſound of the ſhort vowel preceding it; as in *khóſb* and *khód*: it may, nevertheleſs, be right to expreſs that letter by an accent.

ॐ

A vocal ſound peculiar to the *Sanſcrit* language: it is formed by a gentle vibration of the tongue preceding our *third* vowel pronounced *very ſhort*, and may be well expreſſed by the proſodial mark, as in *Ríſhi*, a Saint. When it is connected with a conſonant, as in *Críſhna*,

no part of it is used but the curve at the bottom. We have a similar sound in the word *merrily*, the second syllable of which is much shorter than the first syllable of *riches*.



The same complex sound considerably lengthened; and, therefore, distinguishable by the prosodial sign of a *long* vowel.



In *Bengal*, where the *ra* is often sunk in the pronunciation of compound syllables, this letter expresses both syllables of our word *lily*; but its genuine sound, I believe, is *lrī*, a short triphthong peculiar to the *Sanscrit* language.



Whatever be the true pronunciation of the former symbol, this is only an elongation of it, and may, therefore, be distinguished by the metrical sign of a long vowel.



Our *second* long vowel, best represented, like the others, by an accent, as in *Vēda*, the sacred book of the *Hindus*, which is a derivative from the *Sanscrit* root *vid*, to *know*. The notation, which I recommend, will have this important advantage, that learned foreigners in *Europe* will in general pronounce the oriental words, expressed by it, with as much correctness and facility as our own nation.



This is a diphthong composed of our *first* and *third* vowels, and expressible, therefore, by them, as in the word *Vaidya*, derived from *Véda*, and meaning *a man of the medical cast*: in *Bengal* it is pronounced as the *Greek* diphthong in *poimén*, a shepherd, was probably founded in ancient *Greece*. The *Arabs* and the *English* articulate this composition exactly alike, though we are pleased to express it by a simple letter, which, on the continent of *Europe*, has its genuine sound. In the mouth of an *Italian* the constituent vowels in the words *mai* and *miei* do not perfectly coalesce, and, at the close of a verse, they are separated; but a *Frenchman* and a *Persian* would pronounce them nearly like the preceding long vowel; as in the word *Mai*, which at *Paris* means our month of the same name, and at *Isfahan* signifies *wine*: the *Persian* word, indeed, might with great propriety be written *mei*, as the diphthong seems rather to be composed of our *second* and *third* short vowels; a composition very common in *Italian* poetry.

3

Though a coalition of *acâr* and *ucâr* forms this sound in *Sanscrit*, as in the mystical word *ôm*, yet it is in fact a simple articulation, and the *fourth* of our long vowels.

3

Here, indeed, we meet with a proper diphthong, compounded of our *first* and *fifth* vowels; and in *Persia* the constituent sounds are not perfectly united; as in the word *Firdausi*, which an *Italian* would pronounce exactly like a native of *Isfahan*. Perhaps, in *Arabick* words, it may be proper to represent by an accent the letters *yâ* and *wâw*, which, preceded

preceded by the *open* vowel, form the respective diphthongs in *Zobair* and *Jauberi*; but the omission of this accent would occasion little inconvenience.

अ०

This is no vowel, but an abbreviation, at the end of a syllable, of the *nasal* consonants: thus the *Portuguese* write *Siaó* for *Siam* with a nasal termination; and the accurate M. D'ANVILLE expresses great unwillingness to write *Siam* for the country, and *Siamois* for the people of it, yet acknowledges his fear of innovating, 'notwithstanding his attachment to the original and proper denominations of countries and places.' It appears to me, that the addition of a distinct letter *ga* would be an improper and inconvenient mode of expressing the nasal sound, and that we cannot do better than adopt the *Indian* method of distinguishing it, in *Sanscrit*, *Chinese*, and *Persian* words, by a point above the letter; as in *Simha*, a lion, *Cánhì*, the name of an illustrious Emperor, and *Sámán*, a household.

अः

अः

This too is an abbreviation or substitute, at the close of a syllable, for the *strong aspirate*, and may be distinguished in the middle of a word by a hyphen, as in *dub-c'ba*, pain, though it seems often to resemble the *Arabian* *bà*, which gives only a more forcible sound to the vowel, which precedes it, as in *bhicmah*, science. It is well known, that, when such *Arabick* words are used in construction, the *final* aspirate of the first noun has the sound of *tà*; but, as the letter remains unaltered, it should, I think, be preserved in our characters, and expressed either by two points above it, as in *Arabick*, or by an accentual mark;

since if we write *Zubdabu'lmulc*, or, *the Flower of the Realm*, with a comma to denote the suppression of the *dhif*, every learner will know, that the first word should be pronounced *Zubdut*. The *hà* is often omitted by us, when we write *Persian* in *English* letters, but ought invariably to be inserted, as in *Sháh-námah*; since the aspiration is very perceptibly sounded in the true pronunciation of *dergáh*, *rúháb*, and other similar words. The *Sanscrit* character before us has the singular property of being interchangeable, by certain rules, both with *ra*, and *sa*; in the same manner as the *Sylva* of the *Romans* was formed from the *Æolick* word *hylva*, and as *arbo*s was used in old *Latin* for *arbor*.

क

We come now to the first proper consonant of the *Indian* system, in which a series of letters, formed in the throat near the root of the tongue, properly takes the lead. This letter has the sound of our *k* and *c* in the words *king* and *cannibal*; but there will be great convenience in expressing it uniformly by the *second* of those marks, whatever be the vowel following it. The *Arabs*, and perhaps all nations descended from *SEM*, have a remarkable letter sounded near the palate with a hard pressure, not unlike the cawing of a raven, as in the word *Káfim*; and for this particular sound the redundancy of our own alphabet supplies us with an useful symbol: the common people in *Hbejáz* and *Egypt* confound it, indeed, with the first letter of *Gubr*, and the *Persians* only add to that letter the hard palatine sound of the *Arabian káf*; but, if we distinguish it invariably by *k*, we shall find the utility of appropriating our *c* to the notation of the *Indian* letter now before us. The third letter of the *Roman alphabet* was probably articulated like the *kappa* of the *Greeks*; and we may fairly suppose, that *Cicero* and *Cithara* were pronounced alike at *Rome* and at *Athens*:
the

the *Welsh* apply this letter uniformly to the same sound, as in *cae* and *cefn*; and a little practice will render such words as *citab* and *cinnara* familiar to our eyes.

२८

We hear much of aspirated letters; but the only proper *aspirates* (those I mean, in which a strong breathing is distinctly heard after the consonants) are to be found in the languages of *India*; unless the word *cachexy*, which our medical writers have borrowed from the *Greek*, be thought an exception to the rule: this aspiration may be distinguished by a *comma*, as the letter before us is expressed in the word *c'hanitra*, a *spade*. The *Arabian*, *Persian*, and *Tuscan* aspirate, which is formed by a harsh protrusion of the breath, while the consonant is roughly articulated near the root of the tongue, may be written as in the word *makhzen*, a *treasury*.

२९

Whatever vowel follow this letter, it should constantly be expressed as in the words *gul*, a flower, and *gil*, clay; and we may observe, as before, that a little use will reconcile us to this deviation from our irregular system. The *Germans*, whose pronunciation appears to be more consistent than our own, would scarce understand the *Latin* name of their own country, if an *Englishman* were to pronounce it, as he was taught at school.

३०

The proper aspirate of the last letter, as in the word *Rag'buwanfa*: the *Persians* and *Arabs* pronounce their *ghain* with a bur in the throat,
and

and a tremulous motion of the tongue, which gives it a sound resembling that of *r*, as it is pronounced in *Northumberland*; but it is in truth a compound guttural, though frequently expressed by a simple letter, as in *Gaza*, which should be written *Ghazzab*, a city of *Palestine*, and in *gazelle*, as the *French* naturalists call the *ghazâl*, or antelope, of the *Arabians*. The *Persian* word *mîgh*, a cloud, is *még'ha* in *Sanscrit*; as *mîsh*, a sheep, appears also to be derived from *m'gha*, by that change of the long vowels, which generally distinguishes the *Iranian* from the *Indian* pronunciation.

3

This is the *nasal* palatine, which I have already proposed to denote by a *point* above the letter *n*; since the addition of a *g* would create confusion, and often suggest the idea of a different syllable. Thus ends the first series of *Nâgarî* letters, consisting of the *hard* and *soft* guttural, each attended by its proper aspirate, and followed by a *nasal* of the same class; which elegant arrangement is continued, as far as possible, through the *Sanscrit* system, and seems conformable to the beautiful analogy of nature.

5

The next is a series of *compound* letters, as most grammarians consider them, though some hold them to be simple sounds articulated near the palate. The first of them has no distinct sign in our own alphabet, but is expressed, as in the word *China*, by two letters, which are certainly not its component principles: it might, perhaps, be more properly denoted, as it is in the great work of M. D' HERBELOT, by *ch*; but the inconvenience of retaining our own symbol will be less than that of introducing a new combination, or inventing, after the example of Dr.

FRANKLIN,

FRANKLIN, a new character. *China* is a *Sanfcrit* word ; and it will be convenient fo to write it, though I feel an inclination to exprefs it otherwife.



The fame compofition with a ftrong breathing articulated after it. Harfh as it may feem, we cannot, if we continue the former fymbol, avoid expreffing this found, as in the word *ch'bandas*, metre.



This too feems to have been confidered by the *Hindus* as a fimple palatine, but appears in truth to be the complex expreffion of *dzb*: perhaps the fame letter may, by a fmall difference of articulation, partake of two different founds. This at leaft we may obferve, that the letter under confideration is confounded, as a fimple found, with *ya*, and, as a compound, with *za*, one of its conftituents: thus the *yáfmín* of *Arabia* is by us called *jafmín*, while the fame man is *Giorgi* at *Rome* and *Zorzi* at *Venice* ; or (to give an example of both in a fingle word) *yug*, or *jundion*, at *Bánáres*, is *jug* in *Bengal*, and was pronounced *zug*, or, in the nominative, *zugon* at *Athens*. We fhould, however, invariably exprefs the letter before us by *ja*.

The *Arabian* letters *d'balá*, *d'àd*, and *d'hà* are all pronounced in *Persia* like *za*, with a fort of lifp from an attempt to give them their genuine found: they may be well expreffed as in fluxionary characters, by a feries of points above them, *ż*, *z̈*, *z̉*.



The preceding letter aspirated, as in the word *ŷ'baſha*, a fiſh.

This



This is the *second* nasal composed of the former and the letter *ya*. As the *Italian* word *agnello* and our *onion* contain a composition of *n* and *y*, they should regularly be written *anyello* and *onyon*; and the *Indian* sound differs only in the greater nasality of the first letter, which may be distinguished, as before, by a *point*. A very useful *Sanſcrit* root, ſignifying *to know*, begins with the letter *ja* followed by this compound nasal, and ſhould be written *jnyà*; whence *jnyāna*, knowledge; but this harſh combination is in *Bengal* ſoftened into *gyà*: it is expreſſed by a diſtinct character, which ſtands laſt in the plate annexed *.



In the curious work entitled *Tobſebu'l Hind*, or *The Preſent of India*, this is the *fourth* ſeries of *Sanſcrit* letters; but in general it has the *third* rank, more agreeably, I think, to the analogy of the ſyſtem. This claſs is pronounced with an inflexion of the tongue towards the roof of the mouth, which gives an obtuſe ſound to the conſonant, and may be diſtinguiſhed by an accent above it. The firſt is the *INDIAN* *ṭa*, as in the word *cōṭ'ara*, a rotten tree, and is commonly expreſſed in *Perſian* writings by *four* points, but would be better marked by the *ARABIAN* *ṭā*, which it very nearly reſembles.



The ſame with a ſtrong breathing after it, as in *Vaicunt'ba*, or *unwearied*, an epithet of *Viſhnu*.

ॐ

A remarkable letter, which the *Muslimans* call the INDIAN *dāl*; and exprefs also by four points over it; but it fhould, by analogy to the others, be diftinguifhed by an accentual mark as in the word *dan'da*, punifhment. When the tongue is inverted with a flight vibratory motion, this letter has a mixture of the *ra*, with which it is often, but incorrectly, confounded; as in the common word *ber* for *bera*, great. It refembles the ARABIAN *dād*.

ट

The preceding letter aspirated, as in *D'hacà*, improperly pronounced *Dacca*. In the fame manner may be written the ARABIAN *d'hd*, but without the comma, fince its aspirate is lefs diftinctly heard than in the *Indian* found.

न

This is the *nasal* of the third feries, and formed by a fimilar inverfion of the tongue: in *Sanfcrit* words it ufually follows the letters *ra* and *ſha* (as in *Brāhmen'a*, derived from *Brahman*, the Supreme Being; *Viſhn'u*, a name of his *preferving* power); or precedes the other letters of the third clafs.

उ

Here begins the *fourth* feries, on which we have little more to remark. The firft letter of this clafs is the common *ta*, or *hard* dental, if it may not rather be confidered as a *lingual*.

Its

२।

Its aspirate, which ought to be written with a comma, as in the word *Afwatt'ha*, the *Indian* fig-tree, lest it be confounded by our countrymen with the *Arabian* sound in *thurayyà*, the *Pleiads*, which is precisely the *English* aspiration in *think*; a sound, which the *Persians* and *French* cannot easily articulate: in *Persian* it should be expressed by *s* with a point above it.

ॢ

The *soft* dental in *Dévatà*, or *Deity*.

ॣ

The same aspirated as in *D'herma*, justice, virtue, or piety. We must also distinguish this letter by a comma from the *Arabian* in *dbabab*, gold; a sound of difficult articulation in *France* and *Persia*, which we write *thus* very improperly, instead of retaining the genuine *Anglosaxon* letter, or expressing it, as we might with great convenience, *dhus*.

।

The simple *nasal*, sounded by the teeth with a little assistance from the nostrils, but not so much as in many *French* and *Persian* words. Both this *nasal* and the former occur in the name *Náráyen'a*, or *dwelling in water*.

॥

Next come the *labials* in the same order; and first the hard labial *pa*, formed by a strong compression of the lips; which so ill suits the
configuration

configuration of an *Arabian* mouth, that it cannot be articulated by an *Arab* without much effort.



The proper aspirate of *pa*, as in the word *shepherd*, but often pronounced like our *fa*, as in *fela*, instead of *p'hela*, fruit. In truth the *fa* is a distinct letter; and our *pba*, which in *English* is redundant, should be appropriated to the notation of this *Indian* labial.



The *soft* labial in *Budd'ha*, wife, and the second letter in most alphabets used by *Europeans*; which begin with a vowel, a labial, a palatine, and a lingual: it ought ever to be distinguished in *Nágarì* by a transverse bar, though the copyists often omit this useful distinction.



The *Indian* aspirate of the preceding letter, as in the word *bhášhá*, or a *spoken* dialect. No comma is necessary in this notation, since the sound of *bba* cannot be confounded with any in our own language.



This is the last nasal, as in *Menu*, one of the first created beings according to the *Indians*: it is formed by closing the lips entirely, whilst the breath passes gently through the nose; and here ends the regular arrangement of the *Nágarì* letters. Another series might have been added, namely, *fa*, *sha*, *za*, *zha*, which are in the same proportion as *ta*, *tba*, *da*, *dba*, and the rest; but the two last sounds are not used in *Sanscrit*.

य

Then follows a set of letters approaching to the nature of vowels: the first of them seems in truth to be no more than our *third* short vowel beginning a diphthong, and may, therefore, be thought a superfluous character: since this union, however, produces a kind of consonant articulated near the palate, it is ranked by many among the consonants, and often confounded with *ja*: hence *Yamunà*, a sacred river in *India*, called also the *Daughter of the Sun*, is written *Jomanes* by the *Greeks*, and *Jumnà*, less properly, by the *English*.

ब

The two liquids *na* and *ma*, one of which is a lingual and the other a labial, are kept apart, in order to preserve the analogy of the system; and the other two are introduced between the two semivowels: the first of these is *ra*, as in *RA'MA*, the conqueror of *Silàn*.

ल

The second is *la*, in *Lanca*, another name of that island both in *Tibut*, and in *India*. A defect in the organs of the common *Bengalese* often causes a confusion between these two liquids, and even the sound of *na* is frequently substituted for the letter before us.

व

When this character corresponds, as it sometimes does in *Sanscrit*, with our *wa*, it is in fact our *fifth* short vowel preceding another in forming a diphthong, and might easily be spared in our system of letters; but, when it has the sound of *va*, it is a labial formed by striking the
lower

lower lip against the upper teeth, and might thus be arranged in a series of proportionals, *pa, fa, ba, va*. It cannot easily be pronounced in this manner by the inhabitants of *Bengal* and some other provinces, who confound it with *ba*, from which it ought carefully to be distinguished; since we cannot conceive, that in so perfect a system as the *Sanscrit*, there could ever have been two symbols for the same sound. In fact the *Montes Parveti* of our ancient Geographers were so named from *Parveta*, not *Parbeta*, a mountain. The *wāw* of the *Arabs* is always a vowel, either separate or coalescing with another in the form of a diphthong; but in *Persian* words it is a consonant, and pronounced like our *va*, though with rather less force.



Then follow three *sibilants*, the first of which is often, very inaccurately, confounded with the second, and even with the third: it belongs to that class of consonants, which, in the notation here proposed, are expressed by acute accents above them to denote an inversion of the tongue towards the palate, whence this letter is called in *India* the *palatine sa*. It occurs in a great number of words, and should be written as in *palās'a*, the name of a sacred tree with a very brilliant flower. In the same manner may be noted the *s'ād* of the *Arabs* and *Hebrews*, which last it resembles in shape, and probably resembled in sound; except that in *Cas'mir* and the provinces bordering on *Persia* it is hardly distinguishable from the following letter.



The *second* is improperly written *sha* in our *English* system, and *cha*, still more erroneously, in that of the *French*; but the form generally known may be retained, to avoid the inconvenience of too great a change even from wrong to right. This letter, of which *sa* and *ba*
are

are not the component parts, is formed so far back in the head, that the *Indians* call it a *cerebral*: either it was not articulated by the *Greeks*, or they chose to express it by their *Xi*; since of the *Persian* word *Ardashir* they have formed *Artaxerxes*.

ॐ

The dental *sa*, which resembles the *Hebrew* letter of the same sound, and, like that, is often mistaken by ignorant copyists for the *ma*.

ह

The strong breathing *ba*, but rather misplaced in the *Nāgarī* system; since it is the second element of articulate sounds: the *very* hard breathing of the *Arabs* may be well expressed by doubling the mark of aspiration, as in *Muhammed*, or by an accent above it in the manner of the long vowels, as in *Ah'med*.

झ

The *Indian* system of letters closes with a compound of *ca* and *sha*, as in the word *parishā*, ordeal: it is analogous to our *x*, a superfluous character, of no use, that I know of, except in algebra. The *Bengalese* give it the sound of *cya*, or of our *k* in such words as *kind* and *sky*; but we may conclude, that the other pronunciation is very ancient, since the old *Persians* appear to have borrowed their word *Racshah* from the *Racsha*, or demon of the *Hindus*, which is written with the letter before us. The *Greeks* rendered this letter by their *Khi*, changing *Dacshin*, or the south, into *Dakshin*.

All the sounds used in *Sanscrit*, *Arabick*, *Persian*, and *Hindī*, are arranged systematically in the table prefixed to this dissertation *; and the

* Plate I.

singular letter of the *Arabs*, which they call *āin*, is placed immediately before the consonants. It might have been classed, as the modern *Jews* pronounce it, among the strong *nasals* of the *Indians*; but, in *Arabia* and *Persia*, it has a very different sound, of which no verbal description can give an idea, and may not improperly be called a *nasal vowel*: it is uniformly distinguished by a *circumflex* either above a short vowel or over the letter preceding a long one, as *īlm*, learning, *āālim*, learned.

Agreeably to the preceding analysis of letters, if I were to adopt a new mode of *English* orthography, I should write *Addison's* description of the angel in the following manner, distinguishing the *simple breathing*, or first element, which we cannot invariably omit, by a perpendicular line above our first or second vowel :

Sò hwen sm énjel, bai divain cāmánd,
 Widh raifin tempests shécs a gilti land,
 Sch az äv lét ór pél Britanya pást,
 Cālm and firín hi draivz dhi fyúryas blást,
 And, plíz'd dh'ālmaitiz ārderz tu perfórm,
 Raids in dhi hwerlwind and dairects dhi stārm.

This mode of writing poetry would be the touchstone of bad rhymes, which the eye as well as the ear would instantly detect; as in the first couplet of this description, and even in the last, according to the common pronunciation of the word *perform*. I close this paper with specimens of oriental writing, not as fixed standards of orthography, which no individual has a right to settle, but as examples of the method, which I recommend; and, in order to relieve the dryness of the subject, I annex translations of all but the first specimen, which I reserve for another occasion.

I.

*Four Distichs from the SR'IBHA'GAWAT *.*

Mr. WILKINS's Orthography.

āhāmēvāsāmēvāgrē nānyādyāt sādāsāt pārām
pāfchādahām yādētāchchā yōvāsēēshyētā sōfmyāhām

rēētērthām yāt prātēēyētā nā prātēēyētā chātmanēē
tādvēēdyād ātmānō māyām yāthā bhāsō yāthā tāmah

yāthā māhāntēē bhōōtānēē bhōōtēshōōchchāvachēshwānōō
prāvēēshītānyāprāvēēshītānēē tāthā tēshōō nātēshwāhām

ētāvādēvā jēējnāfyām tāttwā jēējnāsōōnātmānāh
ānwāyā vyātēērēkābhyām yāt syāt sārvaṭrā sārvaḍā.

This wonderful passage I should express in the following manner :

ahamēvāsāmēvāgrē nānyadyat sādāsāt param
pas'chādaham yadētachcha yōvas'ishyēta sōfmyaham

ritērt'ham yat pratīyēta na pratīyēta chātmani
tadvidyādātmanō māyām yat'hā bhāsō yat'hā tamah

yat'hā mahānti bhūtāni bhūtēshūchchāvachēshwanu
praviṣh'tānyapraviṣh'tāni tat'hā tēshu na tēshwaham

ētāvādēvā jijnāfyām tattwa jijnāfunātmanah
anwaya vyatirēcābhyām yat syāt servatra servaḍā.

* See Plate IV. The Letters are in Plate II.

श्रीभगवानुवाच

अहमेवासमेवाये नान्यद्वत् सदसत् परम्
पश्चादहं यदेतच्च योवशिष्येत सोऽस्म्यहम्

ऋतेर्धं यत्प्रतीयेत न प्रतीयेत चात्मनि
तद्विद्यादात्मनो मायां यथा भासो यथा तमः

यथा महान्ति भूतानि भूतेषूच्चावचेषु
प्रविष्टान्यप्रविष्टानि तथा तेषु न तेषु हं

एतावदेव जिज्ञास्यं तस्य जिज्ञासुनात्मनः
अन्वयव्यतिरेकाभ्यां यत् स्यात् सर्वत्र सर्वदा

II.

MO'HA MUDGARA.

The title of this fine piece properly signifies *The Mallet of Delusion* or *Folly*, but may be translated *A Remedy for Distraction of Mind*: it is composed in regular anapæstic verses according to the strictest rules of *Greek* prosody, but in rhymed couplets, two of which here form a *s'loca*.

মূঢ়জহীহিবনাগমত্বা° দাহতনুবৃদ্ধিমনঃ সৃবিত্বা° ।
যল্লভসেনিঅকর্মোপাত্ত° বিত্ত° তেনবিনোদয়াচিত্ত° ॥

কাতবকাতাকস্তুপুত্রঃ স° সাধোয়মতীববিচিত্রঃ ।
কদ্যত্ব° বাগতত্বায়াতস্তত্ব° চিত্তযতদিদ° ভ্রাতঃ ॥

মান্দবর্ধনজনযৌবনগর্ব° হস্ততিনিমেঘাৎকালঃ সর্ব° ।
মামাময়মিদমথিল° হিত্বব্রহ্মপদ° পুৰিশাশ্বিদিহ্বা ॥

নলিনীদলগতজলবন্তবন° উদ্বজ্জীবনমতিশয়চপল° ।
ক্ষামিহসঙ্কাস° গতিবেকাতবতিভবার্ববতরণেনৌকা ॥

যাবজ্জলন° তাবন্মৰা° তাবজ্জলনীজৈবশয়ন° ।
ইতিস° সাৰেসফল্টজরদোষঃ কথামিহমানবতবসগোষঃ ॥

দিনযামিন্যোনাম° প্রাতঃ শিশিববসন্তোপনবামাতঃ ।
কালঃ ক্রীড়তিগচ্ছত্ৰায়ুশ্চাপিনমুঞ্চত্যাশাবায়ুঃ ॥

অগ্নি° গলিত° পলিত° মুত্ত° দত্তবিহীন° জাত° তত্ত° ।
কৰ্ণতকল্পিতশোভিতদত্ত° উদপিনমুক্ত্যশাভাণ্ড° ॥

সুৰবৰমান্দিবতকতলবাসঃ শয্যাভূতলমজিন° বাসঃ ।
সৰ্বপৰিগ্রহভোগত্যাগঃ কস্যস্মৃৎ° নকবোতিবিবাগঃ ॥

শত্রৌমিত্রেপুত্রেবনৌমান্দিবমত্ৰ° বিগ্রহসাত্ৰো ।
ভবসমচিহ্নঃ সৰ্বত্ৰ° বাঞ্ছস্যাচিবাঙ্গদ্বিবিহ্ন° ॥

অষ্টকুলাচলসপ্তসমুদ্রাবক্ষপুংস্বদ্বাদিনকববদ্বাঃ ।
নত্ৰ° নাহ° নান° নোকস্তুদপিকিমৰ্থ° ক্ৰিমতেশোকঃ ॥

অমিমিচান্যত্রৈকোবিষ্কৰ্য্য° নস্যসিমব্যসহিষ্ণুঃ ।
সৰ্ব° পশ্যত্নন্যাযান° সৰ্বত্রোৎসৃজভেদজ্ঞান° ॥

বালস্তাবৎপ্রীড়াশক্তস্তব্ধশস্তাবৎউকনীৰক্তঃ ।
বৃষ্টস্তাবৎচিত্তামগ্নঃ পৰমেব্রহ্মণিকোপিনলগ্নঃ ॥

দ্বাদশপঙ্কটিকাভিশেষঃ শিষ্যাণা° কথিতোভ্যুপদেশঃ ।
যেষা° নৈষববোতিবিবেক° তেষা° কঃ কুরুতামতিবেক° ॥

múd'ha jahíhi dhanágamatríshn'ám
curu tenubuddhimanah fuvitríshnám
yallabhasè nijacarmópáttam
vittam téna vinódaya chittam.

cá tava cántà castè putrah
 faniscároyam atíavichittrah
 casya twam và cuta áyáta
 stattwam chintaya tadidam bhrátah.

má curu dhanajanayauvanagarvam
 harati niméshát calah sarvam
 máyámayamidamac'hilam hitwà
 brehmapadam previs'ás'u viditwà.

nalínídalagatajalavattaralam
 tadvajjivanamatis'aya chapalam
 cshenamiha sajjana sangatirécà
 bhawati bhawárnavataranè naucà.

angam galitam palitam mund'am
 dantavihin'am játam tund'am
 caradhritacampitas'óbhitadand'am
 tadapi namunchatyás'a bhánd'am.

yávajjananam távanmaran'am
 távajjananì jat'harè s'ayanam
 iti fansàrè sp'hut'atara dóshah
 cat'hamiha mánava tava fantóshah.

dinayáminyau sáyam prátah
 s'is'iravafantau punaráyáta
 calah críd'ati gach'hatyáyu
 ftadapi na munchatyás'áváyuh.

furavaramandiratarutalaváfah
 s'ayyà bhútalamajinam váfah
 fervaparigrahabhógatyágah
 cāfya fuc'ham na caróti virágah.

s'atrau mitrè putrè bandhau
 mà curu yatnam vigrahasandhau
 bhava samachittah fervatra twam
 vānch'hafyachirād yadi viśhnutwam.

aśh'taculáchalaseptasamúdrā
 brehmapurāndaradinacararudráh
 natwam náham náyam lóca
 ftadapi cimart'ham criyatè s'ócah.

twayi mayi chányatraicò viśhnur
 vyart'ham cupyafi mayyafahiśhnuh
 fervam pas'yátmanyátmánam
 fervatrótfrija bhédajnyānam.

vālaśtāvat críd'ās'aṣṭa
 ftarun'aśtāvat tarúniraṣṭah
 vriddhaśtāvach chintāmagnah
 peremé brahman'i cópi nalagnah.

dwádas'a pajj'hat'icábhiras'éśhah
 s'iśhyānam cat'hitóbhyupadés'ah
 yéśhām naiśha caróti vivécam
 téśhām cah curutámatirécam.

A verbal Translation.

1. Restrain, deluded *mortal*, thy thirst of acquiring wealth; excite an aversion *from it* in *thy* body, understanding, and inclination: with the riches, which thou acquirest by thy own actions, with these gratify thy soul.

2. Who *is* thy wife; who thy son; how extremely wonderful is even this world; whose *creature* thou also *art*; whence thou camest—meditate on this, O brother, *and again* on this.

3. Make no boast of opulence, attendants, youth; all *these* time snatches away in the twinkling of an eye: checking all this illusion like *Mâyâ*, set thy heart on the foot of BRAHME, speedily gaining knowledge of him.

4. As a drop of water moves tremulous on the lotos-leaf, thus *is* human life inexpressibly slippery: the company of the virtuous *endures* here but for a moment; that is our ship in passing the ocean of the world.

5. The body *is* tottering; the head, grey; the mouth, toothless: the delicate staff trembles in the hand, which holds it: still the flaggon of covetousness remains unemptied.

6. How soon *are we* born! how soon dead! how long lying in the mother's womb! How great is the prevalence of vice in this world! Wherefore, O man, hast thou complacency here below?

7. Day and night, evening and morning, winter and spring depart and return: time sports, life passes on; yet the wind of expectation continues unrestrained.

8. To dwell under the mansion of the high Gods at the foot of a tree, to have the ground for a couch, and a hide for vesture; to renounce all extrinſick enjoyments,—whom doth not ſuch devotion fill with delight?

9. Place not thy affections too ſtrongly on foe or friend, on a ſon or a kinfman, in war or in peace: be thou even-minded towards all, if thou deſireſt ſpeedily to attain the nature of VISHNU.

10. Eight original mountains, and ſeven ſeas, BRAHME, INDRA, the Sun, and RUDRA, *theſe are permanent*: not thou, not I, not this or that people; wherefore then ſhould anxiety be raiſed *in our minds*?

11. In thee, in me, in every other being *is* VISHNU; fooliſhly art thou offended with me, not bearing my approach: ſee every ſoul in thy own ſoul; in all places lay aſide a notion of diverſity.

12. The boy ſo long delights in his play; the youth ſo long purſues his damſel; the old man ſo long broods over uneaſineſs; *that* no one meditates on the Supreme Being.

13. This is the inſtruction of learners delivered in twelve diſtinct ſtanzas: what more can be done with ſuch, as this work fills not with devotion?

III.

The following elegy, which is choſen as a ſpecimen of *Arabick**, was compoſed by a learned Philoſopher and Scholar, MÍR MUHAMMED HUSAIN, before his journey to *Haidarábád* with RICHARD JOHNSON, Eſq.

* Plate V. and Plate III.

南

事

日

هذه الابيات لمحمد حسين

مَا أُنْسَ لَا أُنْسَ لِي
 الْيَوْمَ أَتَقَلَّ جَنَاحَا
 وَصَدَّتْ أَسَاوِدُ قَوْمَهَا
 تَوَعَّ خَالِدٌ خَيْلَهَا
 تَشْكُو الطَّرِيقَ لَطْمَةً
 فِي لَيْلَةٍ قَدْ كَحَلَّتْ
 وَتَرَكَ الْعَمَامَ كَأَجْمَلِ
 تَبَكَ عِيُونَ السَّمَاءِ
 وَالْبَرْقُ يَسِيمُ تَغَرُّ
 وَالْتَرَعْدُ كَادِحٌ تَرَقُّ
 فَهَوَتْ تَعَاتِقُهُ وَتَكْدُ
 وَالذَّمُحُ بَلَّ خَدْرَهَا
 وَتَفَسَّتْ إِذْ كَانَتْ
 غَالَتْ تَحَاتِبُنِي عَلَى
 مَالَتْ أَدْبَنُ قَوَادِنَا
 تَعَصَّى وَأَمْرُ الْهَوَى
 وَتَكْدُ مِنْ أَمْرِ إِلَهِي
 يَوْمًا تَسِيرُ بِكَ الْحَارَةُ
 مَاذَا فَادَكَ جَوْلُهُ
 أَلْفَتْ أَطْلَاءَ الْفَلَا
 أَوْ قَدْ مَلَتْ جَوَارِنَا
 فَأَحْطَ عَلَيْهِ رَقْلُهُ الَّذِي

جَاءَتْ إِلَى عَلَى حَذَرٍ
 وَالْقَلْبُ طَارَ بِهِ الدَّعْوُ
 فَتَحَلَّسَتْ مِنْهَا الْعُذْرُ
 الْأَنْفَاجُهَا شَدَّ
 فَقَدَّتْ بِهَا جَحْمَ التَّحْنِ
 بِسَوَادِ جَفْنِ الْقَمَرِ
 تَرَى النُّجُومَ عَلَى أَشْرَ
 عَلَى حَذَرٍ فِيهَا التَّرَهُّ
 عَجَبًا لَهَا تَبَكَ الْفَيْزُ
 الْأَصْحَاخُ فِي صَوَا حَزْزِ
 حَذَرَتْ عَنَاتِي مِنْ خَمَرٍ
 وَسَقَى رِيَاضًا لِلنَّظَرِ
 وَمَهْمٌ قَوَادِي بِالشَّرِّ
 أَنْ جَذَلِي عَنْ مَرِّ السَّفَرِ
 وَأَذَقَتْهُ حَرْقَ قَرَارٍ
 وَطَعَ نَاصِحًا الْغُدَا
 أَوْضَ وَمَا تَوَضَّى لِلْفَكْرِ
 وَتَارَةً قَرَمِي بَيْنَ
 حَوْلَ الْبِلَادِ سَوَى لَحْزَةٍ
 وَتَسَلَّتْ أَوَامِرُ الشَّرِّ
 يَلُوحُ خَلْقٌ قَدْ تَقَرَّرَ
 بِأَمْرِ السَّلَاةِ مَا قَدْ تَقَرَّرَ

má ánsa lá ánsa állatí
jáat ilayya álatí badbar
ánuámu átbkala jafná
waálkalbu t'ára bibi áldhaár

ras'adat ásdáwida kaámibá
fatakballofat minhá álgbarar
naxaát khalákbílín' lehá
állá tufújibá bishar

tejbci ált'arika lid' hulmabin'
fakadat bibá najma áljabbar
fí lallabin' kad cabbalat
bisawádibá jafna álkamar

wa terai álgbamáma cáájmulin'
terái álmujúma álatí áshar
tebci áyúmon' lílfemái
álatí lí'adáyikibá álxubar

waálberku yebfimu thegrubu
ájabán' líhática álgbiyar
waálrádu cáda yukbarriku
álás' múkba fí s'ummi álbajur

fahawat tuáánikuntí wakad
lí'adbarat ínákí min kharar
waáldemá bella khudúdabá
wafakat riyad' áh' lífnad' bar

watnejjāsat id' b callamat
waramat fuwādi biālšerar
d'ballat tuāātibunel ālai
ān jedda li dāmu ālsafar

kālat ādbabta fuwādanā
waādbaktabu b'erra ālsakar
taāš't āwāmera lilhawāi
watut'lūu nās'ib'aca ālgbudar

watcdūru min ārd'in' ilai
ārd'in' wamā terd'āi ālmekarr
yaūmān tesru bica ālbihbāru
watārah'an' turmai bibarr

mā dbā āfādaca jaūlahon'
b'āula ālbilādi šwāi āld'ajar
aālifta ād'hba ālfelā
wanesīta ārāma ālbāšher

ām kad melelta jiwāranā
yā wāib'a khillin kad nafar
fār'b'em ālai kalbi ālladhī
rāma āfuluwewa wamā kadar.

The Translation.

1. Never, oh! never shall I forget the fair one, who came to my *tent* with timid circumspection :

2. Sleep sat heavy on her eye-lids, and her heart fluttered with fear.

3. She

3. She had marked the dragons of her tribe (the *sentinels*), and had dismissed all dread of danger from them :

4. She had laid aside the rings, which used to grace her ankles ; lest the sound of them should expose her to calamity :

5. She deplored the darkness of the way, which hid from her the morning-star.

6. It was a night, when the eye-lashes of the moon were tinged with the black powder (*Alcohol*) of the gloom :

7. *A night*, in which thou mightest have seen the clouds, like camels, eagerly grazing on the stars ;

8. While the eyes of heaven wept on the bright borders of the sky ;

9. The lightning displayed his shining teeth, with wonder at this change *in the firmament* ;

10. And the thunder almost burst the ears of the deafened rocks.

11. She was desirous of embracing me, but, through modesty, declined my embrace.

12. Tears bedewed her cheeks, and, to my eyes, watered a bower of roses.

13. When the spake, her panting sighs blew flames into my heart.

14. She continued expostulating with me on my excessive desire of travel.

15. ' Thou

15. 'Thou hast melted my heart, she said, and made it feel inexpressible anguish.

16. 'Thou art perverse in thy conduct to her who loves thee, and obsequious to thy guileful adviser.

17. 'Thou goest round from country to country, and art never pleased with a fixed residence.

18. 'One while the seas roll with thee; and, another while, thou art agitated on the shore.

19. 'What fruit, but painful fatigue, can arise from rambling over foreign regions?

20. 'Hast thou associated thyself with the wild antelopes of the desert, and forgotten the tame deer?

21. 'Art thou weary then of our neighbourhood? O wo to him, who flees from his beloved!

22. 'Have pity at length on my afflicted heart, which seeks relief, and cannot obtain it.'

Each couplet of the original consists of two *Dimeter Iambicks*, and must be read in the proper cadence.

IV.

As a specimen of the old *Persian* language and character, I subjoin a very curious passage from the *Zend*, which was communicated to me by BAHMAN the son of BAHRA'M, a native of *Yezd*, and, as his name indicates, a *Parsi*: he wrote the passage from memory; since his

his books in *Pablavi* and *Deri* are not yet brought to *Bengal*. It is a supposed answer of I'ZAD or GOD to ZERA'HTUSHT, who had asked by what means mankind could attain happiness.

*Az pid u mād che ce pid u mād ne kbošnūd bīd bargiz bibisht ne vīnīd; be jāyi cirfah bizab vīnīd: mehnān rā be āzarm nīc dārīd, cebān rā be bīch gūnab mayāzārīd: aj khīshārvendi dervīsh nang medārīd: dād u vendād ī kbālīki yeštā beb cār dārīd; az rīstākhlizi ten pasīn endīshab nemāyīd; mahādā ce āshū ten khīsh rā dūzakhlī cunīd, va āncbe be khīsh ten nashābad be cāshīn mapāfendīd va mā cunīd: berche be gitī cunīd be mainū az āueh pazīrah āyed *.*

A Verbal Translation.

“ If you do that with which your father and mother are not pleased, you shall never see heaven; instead of good spirits, you shall see evil beings: behave with honesty and with respect to the great; and on no account injure the mean: hold not your poor relations a reproach to you: imitate the justice and goodness of the Only Creator: meditate on the resurrection of the future body; lest you make your souls and bodies the inhabitants of hell; and whatever would be unpleasing to yourselves, think not that pleasing to others, and do it not: whatever good you do on earth, for that you shall receive a retribution in heaven.”

It will, perhaps, be suspected (and the language itself may confirm the suspicion), that this doctrine has been taken from a religion very different both in age and authority, from that of ZERA'HTUSHT.

V.

The following story in modern *Persian* was given to me by *Mirzā ABDU'LRANHI'M* of *Isfahān*: it seems extracted from one of the

* Plate VII. The *Zenī* Letters are in Plate III.

many poems on the loves of MEJNU'N and LAIL'I, the ROMEO and JULIET of the East. Each verse consists of a *Cretick* foot followed by two *Choriambi*, or a *Choriambus* and a *Moloffus*.

شیر مست سرپستان الم	پرورش یافته دامن غم
آبرنگ درخ لیلیای جنون	خال رخساره همون مجنون
یافت چون راه بکاشانه عشق	آستان شد در خاتمه عشق
بر سرش شخص جنون سایه فکند	قصه عاشقیش کشت باند
در صرب هر طرفی غوغا شد	نقل او نقل مجالس باشد
بد امیری بعرب والا شان	صاحب مکنش و ثروت بجهان
ترکت از غم بجهان دیده	پر کل داغ محبت چیده
دیده در طفلی خود سوز فراق	تلخی زهر فراقش بمذاق
یافت چون قصه آن در رسکال	کرد فرمان بخلای در حال
که سویی بنجد قدم ساز ز سر	شویه تعجیل روان چون صرصر
اما که دلبرده ز مجنون بشکاه	به برم زدد بسیار همراه
رفت و آورد ظلامک در حال	لیلی آن پادشه ملک جمال

بغلای دگرش شد فرمان	که تو اوم شو بسوی دشت روان
جانب زینت ارباب جنون	شمع پر نور محبت مجنون
زود آور برم آن سوخته را	آن جگر سوز غم اندوخته را
رفت ویر کشت غلامک چو نگاه	والی کشور عشقش همراه
کرد او را چو نظر مرد ایبر	دید زاری بغم عشق اسیر
بر سرش مشخص جودن کرده وطن	زخم هجران به تنش پیراهن
موی سر بر بدنش کشته قبا	موزه از آبله پابر پا
شانه از خار مغیلان بر موش	خرقه از یک بیابان بر دوش
گفت کای کم شده دادی هم	بیج خواهی که تمنّات دهم
سرفرازت کنم از مکنت و جاه	لبی آرم بهزت خاطر خواه
گفت نی نی که بعید است بعید	ذره را هم نظری بانورشید
گفت خواهی که کنی راست بگو	سیر آن صفحه رخصانگو
یلنداری بجايش میلی	راست بر گوی بجان لیلی
گفت کای قدوه ارباب کرم	ذره مخاکد رت تاج سرم

بردلم درد زلای کافیه است خواش وصل زلی الصافیهست
 بهر خور سندی این جزو حقیر بس بود بر تویی از مهر منیر
 گفت و کردید سویی دشت روان دیده کریان و مرثه اشک نشان

*Sbirmasti seri pištāni dlem
 perverešh yāftehi dāmeni ghem*

*ābi rang ò rokbi lailāyi jonùn
 kbāli rokhsārebi hāmún Mejnún*

*yāft chún rāb bi cāshānebi īshk
 āfitān shud bideri khānebi īshk*

*ber serešh shakhs'i jonùn sāyah ficand
 kis's'ebi ādshikì āsh gashh boland*

*der ārab her t'arafi ghaughā shud
 nakli ù nokli mejāits-hā shud*

*būd āmrī biārab vālā shān
 s'ab'ibi micnat ò servat * bijehān*

*torc tāzi ghemi hejrān didah
 pur guli dāghi moh'abbat chidāh*

*didah der t'ifliyi khōd sūzi ferāk
 talkhiyi zahri ferākešh bimezāk*

* The reader will supply the point over s, when it stands for sh.

yáft chun kis's'ehi ān derd figál
card fermán bighulámì der b'ál

ceb súyì najd kadam sáz zi fer.
shau beh tájil ravàn chùn s'ers'er

ān ceb dīl bordah zi Mejnùn bi nigáb
beh berem zúd biyáver hemràh

raft ò āvard ghulámac der b'ál
Laili ān pádishahi mulci jemál

beh ghulámì digaresh shud fermán
ceb tò hem shau bi súyì dasht raván

jánibi zinati árbábi jonún
shemí pur núri moh abbat Mejnùn

zúd āver berem ān súkhtab rà
ān jigarsúzi ghem ándúkhtab rà

raft ò bergasht ghulámac chú nigáb
váliyi cishvari ishkesht hemràh

card úrà chú nazār mardí ámr
díd zārì bi ghemi ishk àsar

ber feresht shakhs'i jonùn cardah vat'en
zakhmi hejràn bi tenesh pírāben

múyi fer ber bedenesht gashtab kobà
múzab áz ābilabi pà ber pà

*shánab áz khári mughílán ber mùsh
kbirkab áz rígi biyábán ber dúsh*

*goft cáì gomshudahi vádiyi ghem
hích khwáhi ceh temennát debem*

*serferázat cunam áz micnat ó jáh
Laili ārem biberet khát'er khwáb*

*goft nì nì ceh bašideft bašid
zerreh rā hem nazarì bà khorsíd*

*goft khwáhi ceh conì rást bigú
šairi ān s'afh'ahi rokhsúri nicú*

*yá nedarì bijemálesh mašl
rást bergúyi bi jáni Laili*

*goft cáì kodvahi árbábi ccerem
zerrahi kháci deret táji serem*

*ber dilem derd xi Laili cáfist
khwábeshi vas l xi bi insifist*

*babri khorsendiyi in jozvi b'akír
bas buvad pertavì áz mibri monír*

*goft ò gardiá stuyì dasht ravàn
didab giryán ò mizhab āshcfsbàn*

The Translation.

1. *The man, who had inebriated himself with milk from the nipple of Anguish, who had been nourished in the lap of Affliction,*

2. MEJNU'N, mad with the bright hue and fair face of LAİLİ, himself a dark mole on the cheek of the desert,

3. Having found the way to the mansion of love, became *fixed like* the threshold on the door of love's palace.

4. Over his head the form of Madness had cast her shadow: the tale of his passion was loudly celebrated.

5. Among the *Arabs* a tumult arose on all sides: the relation of his adventures was a dessert in their assemblies.

6. A powerful Prince reigned in *Arabia*, possessing worldly magnificence and riches:

7. He had seen the depredations of Grief through absence from a beloved object: he had plucked many a black-spotted flower from *the garden of love*.

8. Even in his infancy he had felt the pain of separation: the bitter taste of that poison remained on his palate.

9. When he learned the story of that afflicted lover, he instantly gave an order to a slave,

10. *Saying*, ' Make thy head like thy feet in running towards *Najd*; go with celerity, like a violent wind:

11. Bring

11. 'Bring speedily with thee to my presence Her, who has stolen
' the heart of MEJNU'N with a glance.'

12. The stripling ran, and in a short time brought LAİLÌ, that
Empress in the dominion of beauty.

13. To another slave *the* Prince gave this order: 'Run thou also
' into the desert,

14. 'Go to that ornament of frantick lovers, MEJNU'N, the illu-
' mined taper of love.

15. 'Bring quickly before me that inflamed *youth*, that heart-con-
' sumed anguish-pierced lover.'

16. The boy went, and returned, in the twinkling of an eye, accom-
panied by the ruler in the territories of love.

17. When the Prince looked at him, he beheld a wretch in bondage
to the misery of desire.

18. Madness had fixed her abode on this head: he was clothed, as
with a vest, with the wounds of separation.

19. His locks flowed, like a mantle, over his body: his only scandal
was the callus of his feet.

20. In his hair stuck a comb of *Arabian* thorns: a robe of sand from
the desert covered his back.

21. 'O THOU,

21. 'O THOU, said *the Prince*, who hast been lost in the valley of
' forrow; dost thou not wish me to give thee the object of thy passion

22. 'To exalt thee with dignity and power, to bring LAİLÌ before
' thee gratifying thy soul?'

23. 'No, no; answered he, far, far is it from my wish, that an atom
' should be seen together with the sun.'

24. 'Speak truly, replied the Prince, art thou not willing to recreate
' thyself on the smooth plain of that beautiful cheek?

25. 'Or hast thou no inclination to enjoy her charms? I adjure
' thee, by the soul of LAİLÌ, to declare the truth!'

26. He rejoined: 'O chief of men with generous hearts, a particle
' of dust from thy gate is a diadem on my head.

27. 'The pain of my love for LAİLÌ is sufficient for my heart: a
' wish to enjoy her presence *thus* would be injustice.

28. 'To gratify this contemptible soul of mine, a single ray from
' that bright luminary would be enough.'

29. He spake, and ran towards the desert, his eye weeping, and his
eye-lashes raining tears.

These couplets would fully answer the purpose of showing the method,
in which *Persian* may be written according to the original characters,
with some regard also to the *Isfahani* pronunciation; but, since a very
ingenious artist, named MUHAMMED GHAU'TH, has engraved a tetra-

stich on copper, as a specimen of his art, and since no movable types can equal the beauty of *Persian* writing, I annex his plate *, and add the four lines, which he has selected, in *English* letters: they are too easy to require a translation, and too insignificant to deserve it.

Huwa'l āziz

Chashmi terab'būm zi tō dārīm mā

keblab tōyī rū beceb ārīm mā

b'ājati mā āz tō ber āyed temām

dāmenāt āz caf naguzārīm mā.

VI.

The first specimen of *Hindī*, that occurs to me, is a little *Ghazal* or love-song, in a *Chorianbick* measure, written by GUNNA' BRIGUM, the wife of GHĀ'ZIU'LDĪN KU'AN, a man of consummate abilities and consummate wickedness, who has borne an active part in the modern transactions of Upper *Hindūstān*.

مدعي همسي سنجين ساز باوسي مي	اب تمنا کو يه مان مرده باوسي مي
اه اب کثرت داغ غم خوابسي حمام	صفحه سينه مي را جاوه طاوسي مي
هي مي ري طرح جاکر نون تيرا مدت سني	اي حنا کسکي تجهي خواهش باوسي مي
عوض درد مزي سني وه بهري دين ساري	جس لب زخم ني شمشير تيري چوسي مي
تهمت عشق عبث کرني دين مجه پر منت	بان بهر سچ ماني کي خوان سني توتک خوشي مي

چشم زخم زود اریم مان
قبلہ توئے روکہ اریم مان

ما از تو بر اید تمام
از کف نکل داریم ما را

کام محمد عفو

*Muddatì kemse jokkan fáz bi fálúsì baì
ab tamennà cò yehàn muzhedèi méyúsì baì*

*áh ab cafrati dèghi ghemi kbúbùn sè temàm
s'afh'ài sínab mérà jilwài t'áúsì baì*

*baì mérè t'arab' jigar kbúni tètà muddatsè
à h'innà ciscè tujhè kbwdhishì pábúsì baì*

*áwazi derd meze sè wab bherè hain sürè
jis lebi zakham nè shemshiri tètè chúsì baì*

*tobmati íshk ábas cartè bain mujhper Minnat
bún yeb sech milnè cì kbúbùn sè tú tuc kbúsì baì.*

The Translation.

1. My beloved foe speaks of me with diffimulation; and now the tidings of despair are brought hither to the desire of my soul.

2. Alas, that the smooth surface of my bosom, through the marks of burning in the sad absence of lovely youths, is become like the plumage of a peacock.

3. Like me, O *Hinnà* (the fragrant and elegant shrub, with the leaves of which the nails of *Arabian* women are dyed crimson), thy heart has long been full of blood: whose foot art thou desirous of kissing?

4. Instead of pain, *my beloved*, every wound from thy cimeter sucks with its lips the sweetness, with which it is filled.

5. The fuspicion of love is vainly caft on MINNAT—Yes; true it is, that my nature rather leads me to the company of beautiful youths.

Thus have I explained, by obfervations and examples, my method of noting in *Roman* letters the principal languages of *Afia*; nor can I doubt, that *Armenian*, *Turkifh*, and the various dialects of *Tartary*, may be expreffed in the fame manner with equal advantage; but, as *Chinefe* words are not written in alphabetical characters, it is obvious, that they muft be noted according to the beft *pronunciation* ufed in *China*; which has, I imagine, few founds incapable of being rendered by the fymbols ufed in this effay.

ON
THE GODS OF GREECE, ITALY, AND INDIA,

WRITTEN IN 1784, AND SINCE REVISED,

BY

THE PRESIDENT.

WE cannot justly conclude, by arguments preceding the proof of facts, that one idolatrous people must have borrowed their deities, rites, and tenets from another; since Gods of all shapes and dimensions may be framed by the boundless powers of imagination, or by the frauds and follies of men, in countries never connected; but, when features of resemblance, too strong to have been accidental, are observable in different systems of polytheism, without fancy or prejudice to colour them and improve the likenesses, we can scarce help believing, that some connection has immemorially subsisted between the several nations, who have adopted them: it is my design in this essay, to point out such a resemblance between the popular worship of the old *Greeks* and *Italians* and that of the *Hindus*; nor can there be room to doubt of a great similarity between their strange religions and that of *Egypt*, *China*, *Persia*, *Phrygia*, *Phœnice*, *Syria*; to which, perhaps, we may safely add some of the southern kingdoms and even islands of *America*; while the *Gothick* system, which prevailed in the northern regions of *Europe*, was not merely similar to those of *Greece* and *Italy*, but almost the same
in

in another dress with an embroidery of images apparently *Asiatick*. From all this, if it be satisfactorily proved, we may infer a general union or affinity between the most distinguished inhabitants of the primitive world, at the time when they deviated, as they did too early deviate, from the rational adoration of the only true God.

There seem to have been four principal sources of all mythology.

I. Historical, or natural, truth has been perverted into fable by ignorance, imagination, flattery, or stupidity; as a king of *Crete*, whose tomb had been discovered in that island, was conceived to have been the God of *Olympus*, and MINOS, a legislator of that country, to have been his son, and to hold a supreme appellate jurisdiction over departed souls; hence too probably flowed the tale of CADMUS, as BOCHART learnedly traces it; hence beacons or volcanos became one-eyed giants and monsters vomiting flames; and two rocks, from their appearance to mariners in certain positions, were supposed to crush all vessels attempting to pass between them; of which idle fictions many other instances might be collected from the *Odyssey* and the various *Argonautick* poems. The less we say of *Julian* stars, deifications of princes or warriors, altars raised, with those of APOLLO, to the basest of men, and divine titles bestowed on such wretches as CAJUS OCTAVIANUS, the less we shall expose the infamy of grave senators and fine poets, or the brutal folly of the low multitude: but we may be assured, that the mad apotheosis of truly great men, or of little men falsely called great, has been the origin of gross idolatrous errors in every part of the pagan world.

II. The next source of them appears to have been a wild admiration of the heavenly bodies, and, after a time, the systems and calculations of Astronomers: hence came a considerable portion of *Egyptian* and *Grecian* fable; the *Sabian* worship in *Arabia*; the *Persian* types and emblems of *Mibr* or the sun, and the far extended adoration of the elements and the powers of nature; and hence perhaps, all the artificial Chronology

of

of the *Chinese* and *Indians*, with the invention of demigods and heroes to fill the vacant niches in their extravagant and imaginary periods. III. Numberless divinities have been created solely by the magick of poetry; whose essential business it is, to personify the most abstract notions, and to place a nymph or a genius in every grove and almost in every flower: hence *Hygieia* and *Asclepiades*, health and remedy, are the poetical daughters of *Æsculapius*, who was either a distinguished physician, or medical skill personified; and hence *Chloris*, or verdure, is married to the *Zephyr*. IV. The metaphors and allegories of moralists and metaphysicians have been also very fertile in Deities; of which a thousand examples might be adduced from *PLATO*, *CICERO*, and the inventive commentators on *HOMER* in their pedigrees of the Gods, and their fabulous lessons of morality: the richest and noblest stream from this abundant fountain is the charming philosophical tale of *PSYCHE*, or the *Progress of the Soul*; than which, to my taste, a more beautiful, sublime, and well supported allegory was never produced by the wisdom and ingenuity of man. Hence also the *Indian* *MA'YA'*, or, as the word is explained by some *Hindu* scholars, “the first inclination of the God-head to diversify himself (such is their phrase) by creating worlds,” is seized to be the mother of universal nature, and of all the inferior Gods; as a *Cashmirian* informed me, when I asked him, why *CA'MA*, or *Love*, was represented as her son; but the word *MA'YA'*, or *delusion*, has a more subtle and recondite sense in the *Védānta* philosophy, where it signifies the system of *perceptions*, whether of secondary or of primary qualities, which the Deity was believed by *EPICHRMUS*, *PLATO*, and many truly pious men, to raise by his omnipresent spirit in the minds of his creatures, but which had not, in their opinion, any existence independent of mind.

In drawing a parallel between the Gods of the *Indian* and *European* heathens, from whatever source they were derived, I shall remember, that

that nothing is less favourable to enquiries after truth than a systematical spirit, and shall call to mind the saying of a *Hindu* writer, “that who-
 “ever obstinately adheres to any set of opinions, may bring himself to
 “believe that the freshest sandal-wood is a flame of fire:” this will effectually prevent me from insisting, that such a God of *India* was the JUPITER of *Greece*; such, the APOLLO; such, the MERCURY: in fact, since all the causes of polytheism contributed largely to the assemblage of *Grecian* divinities (though BACON reduces them all to refined allegories, and NEWTON to a poetical disguise of true history), we find many JOVES, many APOLLOS, many MERCURIES, with distinct attributes and capacities; nor shall I presume to suggest more, than that, in one capacity or another, there exists a striking similitude between the chief objects of worship in ancient *Greece* or *Italy* and in the very interesting country, which we now inhabit.

The comparison, which I proceed to lay before you, must needs be very superficial, partly from my short residence in *Hindustan*, partly from my want of complete leisure for literary amusements, but principally because I have no *European* book, to refresh my memory of old fables, except the conceited, though not unlearned, work of POPEY, entitled the *Pantbeon*, and that so miserably translated, that it can hardly be read with patience. A thousand more strokes of resemblance might, I am sure, be collected by any, who should with that view peruse HESIOD, HYGINUS, CORNUTUS, and the other mythologists; or, which would be a shorter and a pleasanter way, should be satisfied with the very elegant *Synagmata* of LILIUS GIRALDUS.

Disquisitions concerning the manners and conduct of our species in early times, or indeed at any time, are always curious at least and amusing; but they are highly interesting to such, as can say of themselves
 with

with CHREMES in the play, “ We are men, and take an interest in all “ that relates to mankind :” They may even be of solid importance in an age, when some intelligent and virtuous persons are inclined to doubt the authenticity of the accounts, delivered by MOSES, concerning the primitive world ; since no modes or sources of reasoning can be unimportant, which have a tendency to remove such doubts. Either the first eleven chapters of *Genesis*, all due allowances being made for a figurative Eastern style, are true, or the whole fabrick of our national religion is false ; a conclusion, which none of us, I trust, would wish to be drawn. I, who cannot help believing the divinity of the MESSIAH, from the undisputed antiquity and manifest completion of many prophecies, especially those of ISAIAH, in the only person recorded by history, to whom they are applicable, am obliged of course to believe the sanctity of the venerable books, to which that sacred person refers as genuine ; but it is not the truth of our national religion, as such, that I have at heart : it is truth itself ; and, if any cool unbiassed reasoner will clearly convince me, that MOSES drew his narrative through *Egyptian* conduits from the primeval fountains of *Indian* literature, I shall esteem him as a friend for having weeded my mind from a capital error, and promise to stand among the foremost in assisting to circulate the truth, which he has ascertained. After such a declaration, I cannot but persuade myself, that no candid man will be displeased, if, in the course of my work, I make as free with any arguments, that he may have advanced, as I should really desire him to do with any of mine, that he may be disposed to controvert. Having no system of my own to maintain, I shall not pursue a very regular method, but shall take all the Gods, of whom I discourse, as they happen to present themselves ; beginning, however, like the *Romans* and the *Hindus*, with JANU or GANE'SA.

The titles and attributes of this old *Italian* deity are fully comprized in two choriambick verses of Sulpitius; and a farther account of him from Ovid would here be superfluous:

*Jane pater, Jane tuens, dive biceps, biformis,
O cate rerum fator, O principium deorum!*

“ Father JANUS, all-beholding JANUS, thou divinity with two heads,
“ and with two forms; O sagacious planter of all things, and leader
“ of deities!”

He was the God, we see, of *Wisdom*; whence he is represented on coins with *two*, and, on the *Ettruscan* image found at *Falisci*, with *four*, faces; emblems of prudence and circumspection: thus is GANE'SA, the God of *Wisdom* in *Hindustan*, painted with an *Elephant's* head, the symbol of sagacious discernment, and attended by a favourite *rat*, which the *Indians* consider as a wise and provident animal. His next great character (the plentiful source of many superstitious usages) was that, from which he is emphatically styled *the father*, and which the second verse before-cited more fully expresses, *the origin and founder of all things*: whence this notion arose, unless from a tradition that he first built shrines, raised altars, and instituted sacrifices, it is not easy to conjecture; hence it came however, that his name was invoked before any other God; that, in the old sacred rites, corn and wine, and, in later times, incense also, were first offered to JANUS; that the doors or entrances to private houses were called *Januæ*, and any pervious passage or thoroughfare, in the plural number, *Jani*, or *with two beginnings*; that he was represented holding a rod as guardian of ways, and a key, as opening, not gates only, but *all important works and affairs* of mankind; that he was thought to preside over the morning, or *beginning of day*;



day; that, although the *Roman* year began regularly with *March*, yet the eleventh month, named *Januarius*, was considered as *first* of the twelve, whence the whole year was supposed to be under his guidance, and opened with great solemnity by the consuls inaugurated in his fane, where his statue was decorated on that occasion with fresh laurel; and, for the same reason, a solemn denunciation of war, than which there can hardly be a more momentous national act, was made by the military consul's opening the gates of his temple with all the pomp of his magistracy. The twelve altars and twelve chapels of JANUS might either denote, according to the general opinion, that he leads and governs twelve months, or that, as he says of himself in OVID, all entrance and access must be made through him to the principal Gods, who were, to a proverb, of the same number. We may add, that JANUS was imagined to preside over infants at their birth, or the *beginning* of life.

The *Indian* divinity has precisely the same character: all sacrifices and religious ceremonies, all addresses even to superiour Gods, all serious compositions in writing, and all worldly affairs of moment, are begun by pious *Hindus* with an invocation of GANE'SA; a word composed of *isa*, the governor or leader, and *gan'a*, or a company of deities, nine of which companies are enumerated in the *Amarcôsh*. Instances of opening business auspiciously by an ejaculation to the JANUS of *India* (if the lines of resemblance here traced will justify me in so calling him) might be multiplied with ease. Few books are begun without the words *salutation* to GANE'S, and he is first invoked by the *Bráhmans*, who conduct the trial by ordeal, or perform the ceremony of the *bóma*, or sacrifice to fire: M. SONNERAT represents him as highly revered on the Coast of *Coromandel*; “ where the *Indians*, he says, would not on any
 “ account build a house, without having placed on the ground an image
 “ of this deity, which they sprinkle with oil and adorn every day with
 “ flowers; they set up his figure in all their temples, in the streets, in
 “ the

“ the high roads, and in open plains at the foot of some tree ; so that
 “ persons of all ranks may invoke him, before they undertake any
 “ business, and travellers worship him, before they proceed on their
 “ journey.” To this I may add, from my own observation, that in
 the commodious and useful town, which now rises at *Dbarmáránya* or
Gayá, under the auspices of the active and benevolent THOMAS LAW,
 Esq. collector of *Rotas*, every new-built house, agreeably to an im-
 memorial usage of the *Hindus*, has the name of GANE'SA supercribed
 on its door ; and, in the old town, his image is placed over the gates
 of the temples.

We come now to SATURN, the oldest of the pagan Gods, of whose
 office and actions much is recorded. The jargon of his being the son of
 Earth and of Heaven, who was the son of the Sky and the Day, is
 purely a confession of ignorance, who were his parents or who his pre-
 decessors ; and there appears more sense in the tradition said to be
 mentioned by the inquisitive and well informed PLATO, “ that both
 “ SATURN or *time*, and his consort CYBELE, or the *Earth*, together
 “ with their attendants, were the children of *Ocean* and *THERIS*, or,
 “ in less poetical language, sprang from the waters of the great deep.”
 CERES, the goddess of harvests, was, it seems, their daughter ; and
 VIRGIL describes “ the mother and nurse of all as crowned with tur-
 “ rets, in a car drawn by lions, and exulting in her hundred grand-
 “ sons, all divine, all inhabiting splendid celestial mansions.” As the
 God of time, or rather as *time* itself personified, SATURN was usually
 painted by the heathens holding a scythe in one hand, and, in the other,
 a snake with its tail in its mouth, the symbol of perpetual cycles and
 revolutions of ages : he was often represented in the act of devouring
 years, in the form of children, and, sometimes, encircled by the seasons
 appearing like boys and girls. By the *Latins* he was named SATURN-
 NUS ; and the most ingenious etymology of that word is given by
 FESTUS

FESTUS the grammarian; who traces it, by a learned analogy to many similar names, à *fatu*, from planting, because, when he reigned in *Italy*, he introduced and improved agriculture: but his distinguishing character, which explains, indeed, all his other titles and functions, was expressed allegorically by the stern of a ship or galley on the reverse of his ancient coins; for which OVID assigns a very unsatisfactory reason, “because the divine stranger arrived in a ship on the *Italian* coast;” as if he could have been expected on horse-back or hovering through the air.

The account, quoted by POMEY from ALEXANDER POLYHISTOR, casts a clearer light, if it really came from genuine antiquity, on the whole tale of SATURN; “that he predicted an extraordinary fall of rain, and ordered the construction of a vessel, in which it was necessary to secure men, beasts, birds, and reptiles from a general inundation.”

Now it seems not easy to take a cool review of all these testimonies concerning the birth, kindred, offspring, character, occupations, and entire life of SATURN, without assenting to the opinion of BOCHART, or admitting it at least to be highly probable, that the fable was raised on the true history of NOAH; from whose flood a new period of *time* was computed, and a new series of ages may be said to have sprung; who rose fresh, and, as it were, newly born from the waves; whose wife was in fact the universal mother, and, that the earth might soon be repeopled, was early blessed with numerous and flourishing descendants: if we produce, therefore, an *Indian* king of divine birth, eminent for his piety and beneficence, whose story seems evidently to be that of NOAH disguised by *Asiatick* fiction, we may safely offer a conjecture, that he was also the same personage with SATURN. This was MENU, or SATYAVRATA, whose pratronymick name was VAIVASWATA, or child
of

of the SUN ; and whom the *Indians* believed to have reigned over the whole world in the earliest age of their chronology, but to have resided in the country of *Dravira*, on the coast of the Eastern *Indian* Peninsula : the following narrative of the principal event in his life I have literally translated from the *Bhāgavat* ; and it is the subject of the first *Purāna*, entitled that of the *Matṣya*, or *Fish*.

‘ Desiring the preservation of herds, and of *Brāhmans*, of genii and
 ‘ virtuous men, of the *Vēdas*, of law, and of precious things, the lord
 ‘ of the universe assumes many bodily shapes ; but, though he pervades,
 ‘ like the air, a variety of beings, yet he is himself unvaried, since he
 ‘ has no quality subject to change. At the close of the last *Calpa*,
 ‘ there was a general destruction occasioned by the sleep of BRAHMA’ ;
 ‘ whence his creatures in different worlds were drowned in a vast
 ‘ ocean. BRAHMA’, being inclined to slumber, desiring repose after
 ‘ a lapse of ages, the strong demon HAYAGRI’VA came near him, and
 ‘ stole the *Vēdas*, which had flowed from his lips. When IERI, the
 ‘ preserver of the universe, discovered this deed of the Prince of
 ‘ *Dānavas*, he took the shape of a minute fish, called *ṣaṇ’harī*. A holy
 ‘ king, named SATYAVRATA, then reigned ; a servant of the spirit,
 ‘ which moved on the waves, and so devout, that water was his only
 ‘ sustenance. He was the child of the Sun, and, in the present *Calpa*,
 ‘ is invested by NARA’YAN in the office of *Menu*, by the name of
 ‘ SRA’DDHADE’VA, or the God of Obsequies. One day, as he was
 ‘ making a libation in the river *Crītamūlā*, and held water in the palm
 ‘ of his hand, he perceived a small fish moving in it. The king of
 ‘ *Dravira* immediately dropped the fish into the river together with
 ‘ the water, which he had taken from it ; when the *ṣaṇ’harī* thus
 ‘ pathetically addressed the benevolent monarch : “ How canst thou,
 ‘ “ O king, who showest affection to the oppressed, leave me in this
 ‘ “ river-water, where I am too weak to resist the monsters of the stream,
 ‘ “ who

“ who fill me with dread ?” He, not knowing who had assumed the
 ‘ form of a fish, applied his mind to the preservation of the *śap’bari*,
 ‘ both from good nature and from regard to his own soul ; and, having
 ‘ heard its very suppliant address, he kindly placed it under his pro-
 ‘ tection in a small vase full of water ; but, in a single night, its bulk
 ‘ was so increased, that it could not be contained in the jar, and thus
 ‘ again addressed the illustrious Prince : “ I am not pleased with living
 “ miserably in this little vase ; make me a large mansion, where I may
 “ dwell in comfort.” The king, removing it thence, placed it in the
 ‘ water of a cistern ; but it grew three cubits in less than fifty minutes,
 ‘ and said : “ O king, it pleases me not to stay vainly in this narrow
 “ cistern : since thou hast granted me an asylum, give me a spacious
 “ habitation.” He then removed it, and placed it in a pool, where,
 ‘ having ample space around its body, it became a fish of considerable
 ‘ size. “ This abode, O king, is not convenient for me, who must
 “ swim at large in the waters : exert thyself for my safety ; and remove
 “ me to a deep lake :” Thus addressed, the pious monarch threw
 ‘ the suppliant into a lake, and, when it grew of equal bulk with that
 ‘ piece of water, he cast the vast fish into the sea. When the fish was
 ‘ thrown into the waves, he thus again spoke to SATYAVRATA :
 “ here the horned sharks, and other monsters of great strength will de-
 “ vour me ; thou shouldst not, O valiant man, leave me in this
 ‘ ocean.” Thus repeatedly deluded by the fish, who had addressed him
 ‘ with gentle words, the king said : “ who art thou, that beguilest
 “ me in that assumed shape ? Never before have I seen or heard of so
 “ prodigious an inhabitant of the waters, who, like thee, hast filled up,
 “ in a single day, a lake an hundred leagues in circumference. Surely,
 “ thou art BHAGAVAT, who appearest before me ; the great HĒRI ;
 “ whose dwelling was on the waves ; and who now, in compassion to
 “ thy servants, bearest the form of the natives of the deep. Salutation
 “ and praise to thee, O first male, the lord of creation, of preservation,
 “ of

“ of destruction ! Thou art the highest object, O supreme ruler, of us
 “ thy adorers, who piously seek thee. All thy delusive descents in this
 “ world give existence to various beings : yet I am anxious to know, for
 “ what cause that shape has been assumed by thee. Let me not, O
 “ lotos-eyed, approach in vain the feet of a deity, whose perfect
 “ benevolence has been extended to all ; when thou hast shewn us to
 “ our amazement the appearance of other bodies, not in reality
 “ existing, but successively exhibited.” The lord of the universe,
 ‘ loving the pious man, who thus implored him, and intending to
 ‘ preserve him from the sea of destruction, caused by the depravity
 ‘ of the age, thus told him how he was to act. “ In seven days from
 “ the present time, O thou tamer of enemies, the three worlds will be
 “ plunged in an ocean of death ; but, in the midst of the destroying
 “ waves, a large vessel, sent by me for thy use, shall stand before thee.
 “ Then shalt thou take all medicinal herbs, all the variety of seeds ;
 “ and, accompanied by seven Saints, encircled by pairs of all brute
 “ animals, thou shalt enter the spacious ark and continue in it, secure
 “ from the flood on one immense ocean without light, except the
 “ radiance of thy holy companions. When the ship shall be agitated by
 “ an impetuous wind, thou shalt fasten it with a large sea-serpent on my
 “ horn ; for I will be near thee : drawing the vessel, with thee and thy
 “ attendants, I will remain on the ocean, O chief of men, until a night
 “ of BRAHMA’ shall be completely ended. Thou shalt then know my
 “ true greatness, rightly named the supreme Godhead ; by my favour,
 “ all thy questions shall be answered, and thy mind abundantly instruct-
 “ ed.” HERI, having thus directed the monarch, disappeared ; and
 ‘ SATYAVRATA humbly waited for the time, which the ruler of our
 ‘ senses had appointed. The pious king, have scattered towards the
 ‘ East the pointed blades of the grass *darbha*, and turning his face to-
 ‘ wards the North, sat meditating on the feet of the God, who had
 ‘ borne the form of a fish. The sea, overwhelming its shores, deluged
 ‘ the

the whole earth; and it was soon perceived to be augmented by
 showers from immense clouds. He, still meditating on the command
 of BHAGAVAT, saw the vessel advancing, and entered it with the
 chiefs of *Prishnans*, having carried into it the medicinal creepers and
 conformed to the directions of HERI. The saints thus addressed him:
 "O king, meditate on CE'SAVA; who will, surely, deliver us from
 this danger, and grant us prosperity." The God, being invoked by
 the monarch, appeared again distinctly on the vast ocean in the form
 of a fish, blazing like gold, extending a million of leagues, with one
 stupendous horn; on which the king, as he had before been com-
 manded by HERI, tied the ship with a cable made of a vast fer-
 pent, and, happy in his preservation, stood praising the destroyer of
 MADHU. When the monarch had finished his hymn, the primeval
 male, BHAGAVAT, who watched for his safety on the great expanse
 of water, spoke aloud to his own divine essence, pronouncing a sacred
Purana, which contained the rules of the *Sanc'hya* philosophy: but
 it was an infinite mystery to be concealed within the breast of SATY-
 AVRATA; who, sitting in the vessel with the saints, heard the prin-
 ciple of the soul, the Eternal Being, proclaimed by the preserving
 power. Then HERI, rising together with BRAHMA', from the
 destructive deluge, which was abated, slew the demon HAYAGRI'VA,
 and recovered the sacred books. SATYAVRATA, instructed in all
 divine and human knowledge, was appointed in the present *Calpa*, by
 the favour of VISUNU, the seventh MENU, surnamed VAIVASWATA:
 but the appearance of a horned fish to the religious monarch was
Mâyâ, or delusion; and he, who shall devoutly hear this important
 allegorical narrative, will be delivered from the bondage of sin.'

This epitome of the first *Indian* History, that is now extant, appears
 to me very curious and very important; for the story, though whimsi-
 cally dressed up in the form of an allegory, seems to prove a primeval

tradition in this country of the *universal deluge* described by MOSES, and fixes consequently the *time*, when the genuine *Hindu* Chronology actually begins. We find, it is true, in the *Purán*, from which the narrative is extracted, *another deluge* which happened towards the close of the *third* age, when YUDHIST'HIR was labouring under the persecution of his inveterate foe DURYODHAN, and when CRISHNA, who had recently become incarnate for the purpose of succouring the pious and of destroying the wicked, was performing wonders in the country of *Mat'hurà*; but the second flood was merely *local* and intended only to affect the people of *Vraja*: they, it seems, had offended INDRA, the God of the firmament, by their enthusiastick adoration of the wonderful child, "who lifted up the mountain *Góverdbena*, as if it had been a flower, "and, by sheltering all the herdsmen and shepherdesses from the storm, "convinced INDRA of his supremacy." That the *Satya*, or (if we may venture so to call it) the *Saturnian*, age was in truth the age of the *general* flood, will appear from a close examination of the ten *Avatárs*, or *Descents*, of the deity in his capacity of preserver; since of the four, which are declared to have happened in the *Satya yug*, the *three first* apparently relate to some stupendous convulsion of our globe from the fountains of the deep, and the fourth exhibits the miraculous punishment of pride and impiety: first, as we have shown, there was, in the opinion of the *Hindus*, an interposition of Providence to preserve a devout person and his family (for all the *Pandits* agree, that his wife, though not named, must be understood to have been saved with him) from an inundation, by which all the wicked were destroyed; next, the power of the deity descends in the form of a *Boar*, the symbol of strength, to draw up and support on his tusks the whole earth, which had been sunk beneath the ocean; thirdly, the same power is represented as a *tortoise* sustaining the globe, which had been convulsed by the violent assaults of demons, while the Gods churned the sea with the mountain *Mandar*, and forced it to disgorge the sacred things and animals,

mals, together with the water of life, which it had swallowed: these three stories relate, I think, to the same event, shadowed by a moral, a metaphysical, and an astronomical, allegory; and all three seem connected with the hieroglyphical sculptures of the old *Egyptians*. The fourth *Avatâr* was a *lion* issuing from a bursting column of marble to devour a blaspheming monarch, who would otherwise have slain his religious son; and of the remaining six, not one has the least relation to a deluge: the three, which are ascribed to the *Trétâyug*, when tyranny and irreligion are said to have been introduced, were ordained for the overthrow of Tyrants, or, their natural types, Giants with a thousand arms formed for the most extensive oppression; and, in the *Dwâparyug*, the incarnation of CRISHNA was partly for a similar purpose, and partly with a view to thin the world of unjust and impious men, who had multiplied in that age, and began to swarm on the approach of the *Caliyug*, or the age of *contention* and baseness. As to BUDDHA, he seems to have been a reformer of the doctrines contained in the *Vêdas*; and, though his good nature led him to censure those ancient books, because they enjoined sacrifices of cattle, yet he is admitted as the ninth *Avatâr* even by the *Brâhmans* of *Câsi*, and his praises are sung by the poet JAYADE'VA: his character is in many respects very extraordinary; but, as an account of it belongs rather to History than to Mythology, it is reserved for another dissertation. The tenth *Avatâr*, we are told, is yet to come, and is expected to appear mounted (like the crowned conqueror in the *Apocalyps*) on a white horse, with a cineter blazing like a comet to mow down all incorrigible and impenitent offenders, who shall then be on earth.

These four *Yugs* have so apparent an affinity with the *Grecian* and *Roman* ages, that one origin may be naturally assigned to both systems: the first in both is distinguished as abounding in *gold*, though *Satya* mean *truth* and *probity*, which were found, if ever, in the times immediately

mediately following so tremendous an exertion of the divine power as the destruction of mankind by a general deluge; the next is characterized by *silver*, and the third, by *copper*; though their usual names allude to proportions imagined in each between vice and virtue: the present, or *earthen*, age seems more properly discriminated than by *iron*, as in ancient *Europe*; since that metal is not baser or less useful, though more common in our times and consequently less precious, than copper; while mere *earth* conveys an idea of the lowest degradation. We may here observe, that the true History of the World seems obviously divisible into *four* ages or periods; which may be called, first, the *Diluvian*, or purest age; namely, the times preceding the deluge, and those succeeding it till the mad introduction of idolatry at *Babel*; next, the *Patriarchal*, or pure, age; in which, indeed, there were mighty hunters of beasts and of men, from the rise of patriarchs in the family of SEM to the simultaneous establishment of great Empires by the descendants of his brother HA'M; thirdly, the *Mosaic*, or less pure, age; from the legation of MOSES, and during the time, when his ordinances were comparatively well-observed and uncorrupted; lastly, the *Prophetic*, or *impure*, age, beginning with the vehement warnings given by the Prophets to apostate Kings and degenerate nations, but still subsisting and to subsist, until all genuine prophecies shall be fully accomplished. The duration of the Historical ages must needs be very unequal and disproportionate; while that of the *Indian Yugs* is disposed so regularly and artificially, that it cannot be admitted as natural or probable: men do not become reprobate in a geometrical progression or at the termination of regular periods; yet so well-proportioned are the *Yugs*, that even the length of human life is diminished, as they advance, from an hundred thousand years in a subdecuple ratio; and, as the number of principal *Avatárs* in each decreases arithmetically from four, so the number of years in each decreases geometrically, and all together constitute the extravagant sum of four million three hundred and twenty thousand years,

which

which aggregate, multiplied by seventy-one, is the period, in which every MENU is believed to preside over the world. Such a period, one might conceive, would have satisfied ARCHYTAS, the *measurer of sea and earth and the numberer of their sands*, or ARCHIMEDES, who invented a notation, that was capable of expressing the number of them; but the comprehensive mind of an *Indian* Chronologist has no limits; and the reigns of fourteen MENUS are only a single day of BRAHMA', fifty of which days have elapsed, according to the *Hindus*, from the time of the Creation: that all this puerility, as it seems at first view, may be only an astronomical riddle, and allude to the apparent revolution of the fixed stars, of which the *Bráhmans* made a mystery, I readily admit, and am even inclined to believe; but so technical an arrangement excludes all idea of serious History. I am sensible, how much these remarks will offend the warm advocates for *Indian* antiquity; but we must not sacrifice truth to a base fear of giving offence: that the *Vedas* were actually written before the flood, I shall never believe; nor can we infer from the preceding story, that the learned *Hindus* believe it; for the allegorical slumber of BRAHMA' and the theft of the sacred books mean only, in simpler language, that *the human race was become corrupt*; but that the *Vedas* are very ancient, and far older than other *Sanscrit* compositions, I will venture to assert from my own examination of them, and a comparison of their style with that of the *Puráns* and the *Dharma Sástra*. A similar comparison justifies me in pronouncing, that the excellent law-book ascribed to SWA'YAMBHUVA MENU, though not even pretended to have been written by him, is more ancient than the BHAGAVAT; but that it was composed in the first age of the world, the *Bráhmans* would find it hard to persuade me; and the date, which has been assigned to it, does not appear in either of the two copies, which I possess, or in any other, that has been collated for me: in fact the supposed date is comprized in a verse, which flatly contradicts the work itself; for it was not MENU who composed the system of law, by the

command

command of his father BRAHMA', but a holy personage or demigod, named BHRIGU, who revealed to men what MENU had delivered at the request of him and other faints or patriarchs. In the *Mānava Śiṣṭra*, to conclude this digression, the measure is so uniform and melodious, and the style so perfectly *Sanscrit*, or *Polished*, that the book must be more modern than the scriptures of MOSES, in which the simplicity, or rather nakedness, of the *Hebrew* dialect, metre, and style, must convince every unbiassed man of their superior antiquity.

I leave etymologists, who decide every thing, to decide whether the word MENU, or, in the nominative case, MENUS, has any connexion with MINOS, the Lawgiver, and supposed son of JOVE: the *Cretans*, according to DIODORUS of *Sicily*, used to feign, that most of the great men, who had been deified, in return for the benefits which they had conferred on mankind, were born in their island; and hence a doubt may be raised, whether MINOS was really a *Cretan*. The *Indian* legislator was the first, not the seventh, MENU, or SATYAVRATA, whom I suppose to be the SATURN of *Italy*: part of SATURN's character, indeed, was that of a great lawgiver,

Qui genus indocile ac disperfum montibus altis
Composuit, legesque dedit,

and, we may suspect, that all the fourteen MENUS are reducible to one, who was called NUH by the *Arabs*, and probably by the *Hebrews*, though we have disguised his name by an improper pronunciation of it. Some near relation between the seventh MENU and the *Grecian* MINOS may be inferred from the singular character of the *Hindu* God, YAMA, who was also a child of the Sun, and thence named VAIVASWATA: he had too the same title with his brother, 'SRA'DDHADÉ'VA; another of his titles was DHERMARA'JA, or *King of Justice*; and a third, PITRI-
PETI,

PETI, or *Lord of the Patriarchs*; but he is chiefly distinguished as *judge of departed souls*; for the *Hindus* believe, that, when a soul leaves its body, it immediately repairs to *Yamapur*, or the city of YAMA, where it receives a just sentence from him, and either ascends to *Swerga*, or the first heaven, or is driven down to *Narac*, the region of serpents, or assumes on earth the form of some animal, unless its offence had been such, that it ought to be condemned to a vegetable, or even to a mineral, prison. Another of his names is very remarkable: I mean that of CA'LA, or *time*, the idea of which is intimately blended with the characters of SATURN and of NOAH; for the name CRONOS has a manifest affinity with the word *chronos*, and a learned follower of ZERA'TUSHT assures me, that, in the books, which the *Behdins* hold sacred, mention is made of an *universal inundation*, there named the deluge of TIME.

It having been occasionally observed, that CERES was the poetical daughter of SATURN, we cannot close this head without adding, that the *Hindus* also have their *Goddeſs of Abundance*, whom they usually call LACSHMI', and whom they consider as the daughter (not of MENU, but) of BHRIGU, by whom the first Code of sacred ordinances was promulgated: she is also named PEDMA' and CAMALA' from the sacred Lotos or *Nymphæa*; but her most remarkable name is SRI', or, in the first case, SRI's, which has a resemblance to the *Latin*, and means *fortune* or *prosperity*. It may be contended, that, although LACSHMI' may be figuratively called the CERES of *Hindustan*, yet any two or more idolatrous nations, who subsisted by agriculture, might naturally conceive a Deity to preside over their labours, without having the least intercourse with each other; but no reason appears, why two nations should concur in supposing that Deity to be a female: one at least of them would be more likely to imagine, that the *Earth* was a Goddeſs, and that the God of abundance rendered her fertile. Besides, in very ancient temples near Gayá, we see images of LACSHMI', with full
breasts

breasts and a *cord* twisted under her arm like a *horn of plenty*, which look very much like the old *Grecian* and *Roman* figures of *Ceres*.

The fable of SATURN having been thus analysed, let us proceed to his descendents; and begin, as the Poet advises, with JUPITER, whose supremacy, thunder, and libertinism every boy learns from OVID; while his great offices of Creator, Preserver, and Destroyer, are not generally considered in the systems of *European* mythology. The *Romans* had, as we have before observed, many JUPITERS, one of whom was only the *Firmament* personified, as ENNIUS clearly expresses it:

Aspice hoc sublimis candens, quem invocant omnes *Jovem*.

This JUPITER or DIESPITER is the *Indian* God of the visible heavens, called INDRA, or the *King*, and DIVESPETIR, or *Lord of the Sky*, who has also the character of the *Roman* GENIUS, or Chief of the good spirits; but most of his epithets in *Sanscrit* are the same with those of the *Ennian* JOVE. His consort is named SACHI'; his celestial city, *Amarāvati*; his palace, *Vaijayanta*; his garden, *Nandana*; his chief elephant, *Airāvat*; his charioteer, MA'TALI; and his weapon, *Vajra*, or the thunderbolt: he is the regent of winds and showers, and, though the East is peculiarly under his care, yet his *Olympus* is *Méru*, or the north pole allegorically represented as a mountain of gold and gems. With all his power he is considered as a subordinate Deity, and far inferior to the *Indian* Triad, BRAHMA', VISHNU, and MAHA'DEVA or SIVA, who are three forms of one and the same Godhead: thus the principal divinity of the *Greeks* and *Latins*, whom they called ZEUS and JUPITER, with irregular inflexions DIOS and JOVE, was not merely *Fulminator*, the Thunderer, but, like the destroying power of *India*, MAGNUS DIVUS, ULTOR, GENITOR; like the preserving power, CONSERVATOR, SOTER, OPITULUS, ALTOR, RUMINUS, and, like the creating



creating power, the *Giver of Life*; an attribute, which I mention here on the authority of CORNUTUS, a consummate master of mythologic learning. We are advised by PLATO himself to search for the roots of *Greek* words in some barbarous, that is, foreign, soil; but, since I look upon etymological conjectures as a weak basis for historical inquiries, hardly dare suggest, that ZEV, SIV, and JOV, are the same syllable differently pronounced: it must, however be admitted, that the *Greeks* having no palatal *sigma*, like that of the *Indians*, might have expressed it by their *zêta*, and that the initial letters of *zugon* and *jugum* are (the instance proves) easily interchangeable.

Let us now descend, from these general and introductory remarks, to some particular observations on the resemblance of ZEUS or JUPITER to the triple divinity VISHNU, SIVA, BRAHMA'; for that is the order, in which they are expressed by the letters A, U, and M, which coalesce and form the mystical word O'M; a word, which never escapes the lips of a pious *Hindu*, who meditates on it in silence: whether the *Egyptian* ON, which is commonly supposed to mean the Sun, be the *Sanscrit* monosyllable, I leave others to determine. It must always be remembered, that the learned *Indians*, as they are instructed by their own books, in truth acknowledge only One Supreme Being, whom they call BRAHME, or THE GREAT ONE in the neuter gender: they believe his Essence to be infinitely removed from the comprehension of any mind but his own; and they suppose him to manifest his power by the operation of his divine spirit, whom they name VISHNU, the *Pervader*, and NA'RA'YAN, or *Moving on the waters*, both in the masculine gender, whence he is often denominated the *First Male*; and by this power they believe, that the whole order of nature is preserved and supported; but the *Védantis*, unable to form a distinct idea of brute matter independent of mind, or to conceive that the work of Supreme Goodness was left a moment to itself, imagine that the Deity is

ever present to his work, and constantly supports a series of perceptions, which, in one sense, they call *illusory*, though they cannot but admit the *reality* of all created forms, as far as the happiness of creatures can be affected by them. When they consider the divine power exerted in *creating*, or in giving existence to that which existed not before, they called the deity BRAHMA' in the masculine gender also; and, when they view him in the light of *Destroyer*, or rather *Changer* of forms, they give him a thousand names, of which SIVA, I'SA OR I'SWARA, RUDRA, HARA, SAMBHU, and MAHA'DE'VA OR MAHE'SA, are the most common. The first operations of these three *Powers* are variously described in the different *Purána's* by a number of allegories, and from them we may deduce the *Ionian* Philosophy of *primeval water*, the doctrine of the Mundane Egg, and the veneration paid to the *Nymphæa*, or *Lotos*, which was anciently revered in *Egypt*, as it is at present in *Hindustán*, *Tibet*, and *Népal*: the *Tibetians* are said to embellish their temples and altars with it, and a native of *Népal* made prostrations before it on entering my study, where the fine plant and beautiful flowers lay for examination. Mr. HOLWEL, in explaining his first plate, supposes BRAHMA' to be floating on a leaf of *betel* in the midst of the abyss; but it was manifestly intended by a bad painter for a lotos-leaf or for that of the *Indian* fig-tree; nor is the species of pepper, known in *Bengal* by the name of *Támblúla*, and on the Coast of *Malabar* by that of *betel*, held sacred, as he asserts, by the *Hindus*, or necessarily cultivated under the inspection of *Bráhmans*; though, as the vines are tender, all the plantations of them are carefully secured, and ought to be cultivated by a particular tribe of *Súdras*, who are thence called *Támblúli's*.

That *water* was the primitive element and first work of the Creative Power, is the uniform opinion of the *Indian* Philosophers; but, as they give so particular an account of the general deluge and of the Creation, it can never be admitted, that their whole system arose from traditions concerning





concerning the flood only, and must appear indubitable, that their doctrine is in part borrowed from the opening of *Birdsīt* or *Genesis*, the which a sublimer passage, from the first word to the last, never flowed or will flow from any human pen: “*In the beginning* God created the heavens and the earth.—And the earth was void and waste, and darkness was on the face of the deep, and the Spirit of God *moved upon* the face of the waters; and God said: *Let Light be*—and *Light was.*” The sublimity of this passage is considerably diminished by the *Indian* paraphrase of it, with which MENU, the son of BRAHMA begins his address to the sages, who consulted him on the formation of the universe: “This world, says he, was all darkness, undiscernible undistinguishable, altogether as in a profound sleep; till the self-existent invisible God, making it manifest with five elements and other glorious forms, perfectly dispelled the gloom. He, desiring to raise up various creatures by an emanation from his own glory, first created the *waters*, and impressed them with a power of motion: by that power was produced a golden Egg, blazing like a thousand suns, in which was born BRAHMA’, self-existing, the great parent of all rational beings. The waters are called *nāra*, since they are the offspring of NERA (or I’SWARA); and thence was NA’RA’YANA named, because his first *ayana*, or *moving*, was on them.

“THAT WHICH IS, the invisible cause, eternal, self-existing, but unperceived, becoming masculine *from neuter*, is celebrated among all creatures by the name of BRAHMA’. That God, having dwelled in the Egg, through revolving years, Himself meditating on Himself, divided it into two equal parts; and from those halves formed the heavens and the earth, placing in the midst the subtil ether, the eight points of the world, and the permanent receptacle of waters.”

To this curious description, with which the *Mánava Sástra* begins, I cannot refrain from subjoining the four verses, which are the text of the *Bhágavat*, and are believed to have been pronounced by the Supreme Being to BRAHMA': the following version is most scrupulously literal*.

“ Even I was even at first, not any other thing ; that, which exists, unperceived ; supreme : afterwards I AM THAT WHICH IS ; and he, who must remain, am I.

“ Except the FIRST CAUSE, whatever may appear, and may not appear, in the mind, know that to be the mind's MA'YA' (or *Delusion*), as light, as darkness.

“ As the great elements are in various beings, entering, yet not entering (that is, pervading, not destroying), thus am I in them, yet not in them.

“ Even thus far may inquiry be made by him, who seeks to know the principle of mind, in union and separation, which must be EVERY WHERE ALWAYS.”

Wild and obscure as these ancient verses must appear in a naked verbal translation, it will perhaps be thought by many, that the poetry or mythology of *Greece* or *Italy* afford no conceptions more awfully magnificent : yet the brevity and simplicity of the *Mosaick* diction are unequalled.

As to the creation of the world, in the opinion of the *Romans*, OVID, who might naturally have been expected to describe it with learning and

* See the Original, p. 206. Plate IV.



elegance, leaves us wholly in the dark, *which of the Gods was the actor* : it : other Mythologists are more explicit ; and we may rely on the authority of CORNUTUS, that the old *European* heathens considered JOVE (not the son of SATURN, but of the *Ether*, that is of an unknown parent) as the great *Life-giver*, and *Father of Gods and men* ; to which may be added the *Orphean* doctrine, preserved by PROCLUS, that “ the abyss and empyreum, the earth and sea, the Gods and Goddesses, were produced “ by ZEUS or JUPITER.” In this character he corresponds with BRAHMA’ ; and, perhaps, with that God of the *Babylonians* (if we carefully on the accounts of their ancient religion), who, like BRAHMA’, reduced the universe to order, and, like BRAHMA’, *lost his head*, with the blood of which new animals were instantly formed : I allude to the common story, the meaning of which I cannot discover, that BRAHMA had five heads till one of them was cut off by NA’RA’YA’N.

That, in another capacity, JOVE was the *Helper and Supporter* of all we may collect from his old *Latin* epithets, and from CICERO, who informs us, that his usual name is a contraction of *Juvans Pater* ; an etymology, which shows the idea entertained of his character, though we may have some doubt of its accuracy. CALLIMACHUS, we know addresses him as *the bestower of all good, and of security from grief* ; and *since neither wealth without virtue, nor virtue without wealth, give complete happiness*, he prays, like a wise poet, for both. An *Indian* prayer for riches would be directed to LACSHMI’, the wife of VISHNU, since the *Hindu* Goddesses are believed to be the *powers* of their respective lords : as to CUVE’RA, the *Indian* PLUTUS, one of whose names is *Paulastya*, he is revered, indeed, as a magnificent Deity, residing in the palace of *Alack*, or borne through the sky in a splendid car named *Pushpaca*, but is manifestly subordinate, like the other seven Genii, to the three principal Gods, or rather to the principal God considered in three capacities. As the soul of the world, or the pervading *mind*, so finely described

described by VIRGIL, we see JOVE represented by several *Roman* poets; and with great sublimity by LUCAN in the known speech of CATO concerning the *Ammonian* oracle, "JUPITER is, wherever we look, "wherever we move." This is precisely the *Indian* idea of VISHNU, according to the four verses above exhibited, not that the *Bráhmans* imagine their male Divinity to be the *divine Effence* of the great one, which they declare to be wholly incomprehensible; but, since the power of *preserving* created things by a superintending providence, belongs eminently to the Godhead, they hold that power to exist transcendently in the *preserving* member of the Triad, whom they suppose to be EVERY WHERE ALWAYS, not in substance, but in spirit and energy: here, however, I speak of the *Vaishnavas*; for the *Saiva*'s ascribe a sort of pre-eminence to SIVA, whose attributes are now to be concisely examined.

It was in the capacity of Avenger and Destroyer, that JOVE encountered and overthrew the *Titans* and Giants, whom TYPHON, BRIAREUS, TITIVS, and the rest of their fraternity, led against the God of *Olympus*; to whom an Eagle brought *lightning* and *thunderbolts* during the warfare: thus, in a similar contest between SIVA and the *Daityas*, or children of DITI, who frequently rebelled against heaven, BRAHMA is believed to have presented the God of Destruction with *fiery shafts*. One of the many poems, entitled *Rámáyán*, the last book of which has been translated into *Italian*, contains an extraordinary dialogue between the crow *Bhusunda*, and a rational Eagle, named GARUDA, who is often painted with the face of a beautiful youth, and the body of an imaginary bird; and one of the eighteen *Puránas* bears his name and comprizes his whole history. M. SONNERAT informs us, that VISHNU is represented in some places riding on the GARUDA, which he supposes to be the *Pondicheri* Eagle of BRISSON, especially as the *Bráhmans* of the Coast highly venerate that class of birds and provide food for numbers of them at stated hours: I rather conceive the *Garúda* to be a
fabulous



fabulous bird, but agree with him, that the *Hindu* God, who rides on it, resembles the ancient JUPITER. In the old temples at *Gayà*, VISHNU is either mounted on this poetical bird or attended by it together with a little page; but, lest an etymologist should find GANYMED in GARUD, I must observe that the *Sanscrit* word is pronounced *Garura*; though I admit, that the *Grecian* and *Indian* stories of the celestial bird and the page appear to have some resemblance. As the *Olympian* JUPITER fixed his Court and held his Councils on a lofty and brilliant mountain, so the appropriated seat of MAHA'DE'VA, whom the *Saiva's* consider as the Chief of the Deities, was mount *Cailâsa*, every splinter of whose rocks was an inestimable gem: his terrestrial haunts are the snowy hills of *Himâlyâ*, or that branch of them to the East of the *Brâhmaputra*, which has the name of *Chandrasic'hara*, or the *Mountain of the Moon*. When, after all these circumstances, we learn that SIVA is believed to have *three* eyes, whence he is named also TRILO'CHAN, and know from PAUSANIAS, not only that *Triophthalmos* was an epithet of ZEUS, but that a statue of him had been found, so early as the taking of *Troy*, with a *third eye in his forehead*, as we see him represented by the *Hindus*, we must conclude, that the identity of the two Gods falls little short of being demonstrated.

In the character of *Destroyer* also we may look upon this *Indian* Deity as corresponding with the *Stygian* JOVE, or PLUTO; especially since CA'LI', or *Time* in the feminine gender, is a name of his consort, who will appear hereafter to be PROSERPINE: indeed, if we can rely on a *Persian* translation of the *Bhâgavat* (for the original is not yet in my possession), the sovereign of *Pâtâla*, or the *Infernal Regions*, is the *King of Serpents*, named SÊSHANA'GA; for CRISHNA is there said to have descended with his favourite ARJUN to the seat of that formidable divinity, from whom he instantly obtained the favour, which he requested, that the souls of a *Brâhman's* six sons, who had been slain in battle, might
reanimate

reanimate their respective bodies ; and SE'SHANA'GA is thus described :
 “ He had a gorgeous appearance, with a thousand heads, and, on each
 “ of them, a crown set with resplendent gems, one of which was larger
 “ and brighter than the rest ; his eyes gleamed like flaming torches ;
 “ but his neck, his tongues, and his body were black ; the skirts of
 “ his habiliment were yellow, and a sparkling jewel hung in every one
 “ of his ears ; his arms were extended, and adorned with rich bracelets,
 “ and his hands bore the holy shell, the radiated weapon, the mace for
 “ war, and the lotos.” Thus PLUTO was often exhibited in painting
 and sculpture with a diadem and sceptre ; but himself and his equipage
 were of the blackest shade.

There is yet another attribute of MAHA'DE'VA, by which he is too
 visibly distinguished in the drawings and temples of *Bengal*. To destroy,
 according to the *Védānti's* of *India*, the *Súfi's* of *Persia*, and many Phi-
 losophers of our *European* schools, is only to *generate* and *reproduce* in
 another form : hence the God of *Destruction* is holden in this country to
 preside over *Generation* ; as a symbol of which he rides on a *white bull*.
 Can we doubt, that the loves and feats of JUPITER GENITOR (not for-
 getting the *white bull* of EUROPA) and his extraordinary title of LAPIS,
 for which no satisfactory reason is commonly given, have a connexion
 with the *Indian* Philosophy and Mythology ? As to the deity of *Lamp-
 facus*, he was originally a mere scare-crow, and ought not to have a
 place in any mythological system ; and, in regard to BACCHUS, the
 God of *Vintage* (between whose acts and those of JUPITER we find, as
 BACON observes, a wonderful affinity), his *Itbyphallick* images, measures,
 and ceremonies alluded probably to the supposed relation of Love and
 Wine ; unless we believe them to have belonged originally to SIVA, one
 of whose names is *Vágis* or BA'GI's, and to have been afterwards im-
 properly applied. Though, in an Essay on the Gods of *India*, where the
Bráhmans are positively forbidden to taste fermented liquors, we can have



little to do with BACCHUS, as God of Wine, who was probably no more than the imaginary President over the vintage in *Italy*, *Greece*, and the lower *Asia*, yet we must not omit SURA'DE'VÍ, the Goddess of Wine, who arose, say the *Hindus*, from the ocean, when it was churned with the mountain *Mandar*: and this fable seems to indicate, that the *Indians* came from a country, in which wine was anciently made and considered as a blessing; though the dangerous effects of intemperance induced their early legislators to prohibit the use of all spirituous liquors; and it were much to be wished, that so wise a law had never been violated.

Here may be introduced the JUPITER *Marinus*, or NEPTUNE, of the *Romans*, as resembling MAHA'DE'VA in his *generative* character; especially as the *Hindu* God is the husband of BHAVA'NÍ, whose relation to the *seaters* is evidently marked by her image being restored to them at the conclusion of her great festival called *Durgótjaya*: she is known also to have attributes exactly similar to those of VENUS *Marina*, whose birth from the sea-foam and splendid rise from the Conch, in which she had been cradled, have afforded so many charming subjects to ancient and modern artists; and it is very remarkable, that the REMBHA' of INDRA's court, who seems to correspond with the popular VENUS, or Goddess of Beauty, was produced, according to the *Indian* Fabulists, from the froth of the churned ocean. The identity of the *tris'úla* and the *trident*, the weapon of SIVA and of NEPTUNE, seems to establish this analogy; and the veneration paid all over *India* to the large *buccinum*, especially when it can be found with the spiral line and mouth turned from left to right, brings instantly to our mind the music of TRITON. The Genus of Water is VARUNA; but he, like the rest, is far inferior to MAHA'S'A, and even to INDRA, who is the Prince of the beneficent genii.

This way of considering the Gods as individual substances, but as distinct persons in distinct characters, is common to the *European* and *Indian* systems; as well as the custom of giving the highest of them the greatest number of names: hence, not to repeat what has been said of JUPITER, came the triple capacity of DIANA; and hence her petition in CALLIMACHUS, that she might be *polyonymous* or *many-titled*. The consort of SIVA is more eminently marked by these distinctions than those of BRAHMA or VISHNU: she resembles the ISIS *Myrionymos*, to whom an ancient marble, described by GRUTER, is dedicated; but her leading names and characters are PA'RVATÍ, DURGA', BHAVA'NÍ.

As the *Mountain-born* Goddess, or PA'RVATÍ, she has many properties of the *Olympian* JUNO: her majestick deportment, high spirit, and general attributes are the same; and we find her both on Mount *Cailissa*, and at the banquets of the Deities, uniformly the companion of her husband. One circumstance in the parallel is extremely singular: she is usually attended by her son CA'RTICE'YA, who rides on a *peacock*; and, in some drawings, his own robe seems to be spangled with eyes; to which must be added that, in some of her temples, a *peacock*, without a rider, stands near her image. Though CA'RTICE'YA, with his six faces and numerous eyes, bears some resemblance to ARGUS, whom JUNO employed as her principal wardour, yet, as he is a Deity of the second class, and the Commander of celestial Armies, he seems clearly to be the ORUS of *Egypt* and the MARS of *Italy*: his name SCANDA, by which he is celebrated in one of the *Puranas*, has a connexion, I am persuaded, with the old SECANDER of *Persia*, whom the poets ridiculously confound with the *Macedonian*.

The attributes of DURGA', or *Difficult of access*, are also conspicuous in the festival above-mentioned, which is called by her name, and in
this



this character she resembles MINERVA, not the peaceful inventress of the fine and useful arts, but PALLAS, armed with a helmet and spear: both represent heroick *Virtue*, or Valour united with Wisdom; both slew Demons and Giants with their own hands, and both protected the wise and virtuous, who paid them due adoration. As PALLAS, they say, takes her name from *vibrating* a lance, and usually appears in complete armour, thus CURIS, the old *Latian* word for a spear, was one of JUNO's titles; and so, if GIRALDUS be correct, was HOPLOSMIA, which at *Elis*, it seems, meant a female dressed in panoply or complete accoutrements. The *unarmed* MINERVA of the *Romans* apparently corresponds, as patroness of Science and Genius, with SERESWATÍ, the wife of BRAHMA' and the emblem of his principal *Creative Power*: both goddesses have given their names to celebrated grammatical works; but the *Sáreswati* of SARU'PA'CHA'RYA is far more concise as well as more useful and agreeable than the *Minerva* of SANCTIUS. The MINERVA of *Italy* invented the *flute*, and SERESWATÍ presides over melody: the protectress of *Athens* was even, on the same account, surnamed MUSICE'.

Many learned Mythologists, with GIRALDUS at their head, consider the peaceful MINERVA as the ISIS of *Egypt*; from whose temple at *Sais* a wonderful inscription is quoted by PLUTARCH, which has a resemblance to the four *San scrit* verses above exhibited as the text of the *Bhágavat*: “I am all, that hath been, and is, and shall be; and my “veil no mortal hath ever removed.” For my part I have no doubt, that the ÍSWARA and ÍSÍ of the *Hindus* are the OSIRIS and ISIS of the *Egyptians*; though a distinct essay in the manner of PLUTARCH would be requisite in order to demonstrate their identity: they mean, I conceive, the *Powers of Nature* considered as Male and Female; and ISIS, like the other goddesses, represents the active power of her lord, whose *eight* forms, under which he becomes visible to man, were thus enumerated by CA'LI-PA'SA near two thousand years ago: “*Water* was the first work of the
“ Creator;

“ Creator; and *Fire* receives the oblation of clarified butter, as the law
 “ ordains; the *Sacrifice* is performed with solemnity; the *two Lights* of
 “ heaven distinguish time; the subtil *Ether*, which is the vehicle of
 “ sound, pervades the universe; the *Earth* is the natural parent of all
 “ increase; and by *Air* all things breathing are animated: may *ISA*,
 “ the *power* propitiously apparent in these eight forms, bless and sustain
 “ you!” The *five* elements, therefore, as well as the Sun and Moon,
 are considered as *ISA* or the *Ruler*, from which word *ÍŚÍ* may be
 regularly formed, though *ÍŚA’NÍ* be the usual name of his *active Power*,
 adored as the Goddess of Nature. I have not yet found in *Sanskrit* the
 wild, though poetical, tale of *Io*; but am persuaded, that, by means
 of the *Purānas*, we shall in time discover all the learning of the *Egypt-*
tians without decyphering their hieroglyphicks: the bull of *ÍŚWARA*
 seems to be *APIS*, or *AP*, as he is more correctly named in the true
 reading of a passage in *JEREMIAH*; and, if the veneration shown both
 in *Tibet* and *India* to so amiable and useful a quadruped as the Cow, to-
 gether with the *regeneration* of the *LAMA* himself, have not some affini-
 ty with the religion of *Egypt* and the idolatry of *Israël*, we must at least
 allow that circumstances have wonderfully coincided. *BHAVA’NÍ* now
 demands our attention; and in this character I suppose the wife of
MAHA’DE’VA to be as well the *JUNO Cinxia* or *LUCINA* of the *Romans*
 (called also by them *DIANA Solvizona*, and by the *Greeks* *ILITHYIA*) as
VENUS herself; not the *Idalian* queen of laughter and jollity, who, with
 her Nymphs and Graces, was the beautiful child of poetical imagination,
 and answers to the *Indian* *REMBHA’* with her celestial train of *Apsarás*,
 or damsels of paradise; but *VENUS Urania*, so luxuriantly painted by
LUCRETIUS, and so properly invoked by him at the opening of a poem
 on nature; *VENUS*, presiding over *generation*, and, on that account, ex-
 hibited sometimes of both sexes (an union very common in the *Indian*
 sculptures), as in her *bearded* statue at *Rome*, in the images perhaps called
Hermathena, and in those figures of her, which had the form of a *con-*
cal

cal marble; “ for the reason of which figure we are left, says TACITUS, “ in the dark :” the reason appears too clearly in the temples and paintings of *Hindustan*; where it never seems to have entered the heads of the legislators or people that any thing natural could be offensively obscene; a singularity, which pervades all their writings and conversation, but is no proof of depravity in their morals. Both PLATO and CICERO speak of EROS, or the Heavenly CUPID, as the son of VENUS and JUPITER; which proves, that the monarch of *Olympus* and the Goddess of Fecundity were connected as MAHA'DE'VA and BHAVA'NI: the God CA'MA, indeed, had MA'YA' and CASYAPA, or *Uranus*, for his parents, at least according to the Mythologists of *Cashmir*; but, in most respects, he seems the twin-brother of CUPID with richer and more lively appendages. One of his many epithets is *Dipaca*, the *Inflamer*, which is erroneously written *Dipuc*; and I am now convinced, that the sort of resemblance, which has been observed between his *Latin* and *Sanscrit* names, is accidental: in each name the three first letters are the *root*, and between them there is no affinity. Whether any Mythological connection subsisted between the *amaracus*, with the fragrant leaves of which HYMEN bound his temples, and the *tulasi* of *India*, must be left undetermined: the botanical relation of the two plants (if *amaracus* be properly translated *marjoram*) is extremely near.

One of the most remarkable ceremonies, in the festival of the *Indian* Goddess, is that before-mentioned of casting her image *into the river*: the *Pandits*, of whom I inquired concerned its origin and import, answered, “ that it was prescribed by the *Veda*, they knew not why;” but this custom has, I conceive, a relation to the doctrine, that *water* is a *form* of ISWARA, and consequently of ISA'NI, who is even represented by some as the patroness of that element, to which her figure is restored, after having received all due honours on *earth*, which is considered as another *form* of the God of Nature, though subsequent, in the order of
Creation,

Creation, to the primeval fluid. There seems no decisive proof of one original system among idolatrous nations in the worship of river-gods and river-goddeses, nor in the homage paid to their streams, and the ideas of purification annexed to them: since *Greeks, Italians, Egyptians,* and *Hindus* might (without any communication with each other) have adored the several divinities of their great rivers, from which they derived pleasure, health, and abundance. The notion of Doctor MUSGRAVE, that large rivers were supposed, from their strength and rapidity, to be conducted by Gods, while rivulets only were protected by female deities, is, like most other notions of Grammarians on the genders of nouns, overthrown by facts. Most of the great *Indian* rivers are feminine; and the three goddeses of the waters, whom the *Hindus* chiefly venerate, are GANGA', who sprang, like armed PALLAS, from the head of the *Indian* JOVE; YAMUNA', daughter of the Sun, and SERESWATÍ: all three meet at *Prayága* thence called *Trivéní*, or *the three plaited locks*; but SERESWATÍ, according to the popular belief, sinks under ground, and rises at another *Trivéní* near *Húgli*, where she rejoins her beloved GANGA'. The *Brahmaputra* is, indeed, a male river; and, as his name signifies the Son of BRAHMA', I thence took occasion to feign that he was married to GANGA', though I have not yet seen any mention of him, as a God, in the *Sanscrit* books.

Two incarnate deities of the first rank, RA'MA and CRISHNA, must now be introduced, and their several attributes distinctly explained. The first of them, I believe, was the DIONYSOS of the *Greeks*, whom they named BROMIUS, without knowing why, and BUGENES, when they represented him *horned*, as well as LYAIOS and ELEUTHERIOS, the Deliverer, and TRIAMBOS or DITHYRAMBOS, the Triumphant: most of those titles were adopted by the *Romans*, by whom he was called BRUMA, TAURIFORMIS, LIBER, TRIUMPHUS; and both nations had records or traditionary accounts of his *giving laws* to men and deciding
their



their contests, of his improving navigation and commerce, and, what may appear yet more observable, of his conquering *India* and other countries with an army of *Satyrs*, commanded by no less a personage than PAN; whom LILIUS GIRALDUS, on what authority I know not, asserts to have resided in *Iberia*, “when he had returned, says the learned Mythologist, from the *Indian* war, in which he accompanied BACCHUS.” It were superfluous in a mere essay, to run any length in the parallel between this *European* God and the sovereign of *Ayodhya*, whom the *Hindus* believe to have been an appearance on earth of the *Preserving Power*; to have been a Conqueror of the highest renown, and the Deliverer of nations from tyrants, as well as of his consort SITA from the giant RA’VAN, king of *Lancá*, and to have commanded in chief a numerous and intrepid race of those large *Monkeys*, which our naturalists, or some of them, have denominated *Indian Satyrs*: his General, the Prince of *Satyrs*, was named HANUMAT, or *with high cheek-bones*; and, with workmen of such agility, he soon raised a bridge of rocks over the sea, part of which, say the *Hindus*, yet remains; and it is, probably, the series of rocks, to which the *Muselmans* or the *Portuguese* have given the foolish name of ADAM’S (it should be called RA’MA’S) bridge. Might not this army of *Satyrs* have been only a race of mountaineers, whom RA’MA, if such a monarch ever existed, had civilized? However that may be, the large breed of *Indian Apes* is at this moment held in high veneration by the *Hindus*, and fed with devotion by the *Bráhmans*, who seem, in two or three places on the banks of the *Ganges*, to have a regular endowment for the support of them: they live in tribes of three or four hundred, are wonderfully gentle (I speak as an eye-witness), and appear to have some kind of order and subordination in their little sylvan polity. We must not omit, that the father of *Hanumat* was the God of Wind, named PAVAN, one of the eight Genii; and, as PAN improved the pipe by adding six reeds, and “played exquisitely “on the cithern a few moments after his birth,” so one of the four systems

tems of *Indian* mufick bears the name of HANUMAT, or HANUMA'N in the nominative, as its inventor, and is now in general estimation.

The war of *Lancá* is dramatically represented at the festival of RA'MA on the ninth day of the new moon of *Chaitra*; and the drama concludes (fays HOLWEL, who had often feen it) with an exhibition of the fire-ordeal, by which the victor's wife SÍRA' gave proof of her connubial fidelity: "the dialogue, he adds, is taken from one of the Eighteen holy books," meaning, I fuppose, the *Puránas*; but the *Hindus* have a great number of regular dramas at leaft two thoufand years old, and among them are feveral very fine ones on the ftory of RA'MA. The firft poet of the *Hindus* was the great VA'LMÍC, and his *Rámáyan* is an Epic Poem on the fame fubject, which, in unity of action, magnificence of imagery, and elegance of ftyle, far furpaffes the learned and elaborate work of NONNUS, entitled *Dionyfíaca*, half of which, or twenty-four books, I perufed with great eagernes, when I was very young, and fhould have travelled to the conclufion of it, if other purfuits had not engaged me: I fhall never have leifure to compare the *Dionyfíacks* with the *Rámáyan*, but am confident, that an accurate comparifon of the two poems would prove DIONYSOS and RA'MA to have been the fame perfon; and I incline to think, that he was RA'MA, the fon of Cú'SH, who might have eftablifhed the firft regular government in this part of *Afia*. I had almoft forgotton, that *Meros* is faid by the *Greeks* to have been a mountain of *India*, on which their DIONYSOS was born, and that *Méru*, though it generally means the north pole in the *Indian* geography, is alfo a mountain near the city of *Naifhada* or *Nyfa*, called by the *Greek* geographers *Dionyfopolis*, and univerfally celebrated in the *Sanfcrit* poems; though the birth place of RA'MA is fupposed to have been *Ayódhyà* or *Audh*. That ancient city extended, if we believe the *Bráhmans*, over a line of ten *Yojans*, or about forty miles, and the preſent city of *Lac'hnaú*, pronounced *Lucnow*, was only a lodge for one
of





of its gates, called *Lacshmanadwāra*, or the gate of LACSHMAN, a brother of RA'MA: M. SONNERAT supposes *Ayódhyā* to have been *Siam*: a most erroneous and unfounded supposition! which would have been of little consequence, if he had not grounded an argument on it, that RA'MA was the same person with BUDDHA, who must have appeared many centuries after the conquest of *Lancā*.

The second great divinity, CRISHNA, passed a life, according to the *Indians*, of a most extraordinary and incomprehensible nature. He was the son of DE'VACÍ by VASUD'EVA; but his birth was concealed through fear of the tyrant CANSA, to whom it had been predicted, that a child born at that time in that family would destroy him: he was fostered, therefore, in *Mat'hurá* by an honest herdsman, surnamed ANANDA, or *Happy*, and his amiable wife YASO'DA', who, like another PALES, was constantly occupied in her pastures and her dairy. In their family were a multitude of young *Gópa's* or *Cowherds*, and beautiful *Gópi's*, or *milkmaids*, who were his playfellows during his infancy; and, in his early youth, he selected *nine* damsels as his favourites, with whom he passed his gay hours in dancing, sporting, and playing on his flute. For the remarkable number of his *Gópi's* I have no authority but a whimsical picture, where *nine* girls are grouped in the form of an elephant, on which he sits and pipes; and, unfortunately, the word *navā* signifies both *nine* and *new* or *young*; so that, in the following stanza, it may admit of two interpretations:

*tarāṅgāpūṇē navaballavī
perisadā saba cōṭṭatāpalāt
drutavilāṁvitachāruvibārināṁ
perimāṁbāṁ brīdayēna sadā vabē.*

“ I bear in my bosom continually that God, who, for sportive recreation with a train of *nine* (young) dairy-maids, dances gracefully, now “ quick now slow, on the sands just left by the Daughter of the Sun.”

Both he and the three RA'MAS are described as youths of perfect beauty ; but the princesses of *Hindustán*, as well as the damsels of NAN-DA's farm, were passionately in love with CRISHNA, who continues to this hour the darling God of the *Indian* women. The sect of *Hindus*, who adore him with enthusiastick, and almost exclusive, devotion, have broached a doctrine, which they maintain with eagerness, and which seems general in these provinces ; that he was distinct from all the *Avatárs*, who had only an *ansa*, or portion, of his divinity ; while CRISHNA was the *person* of VISHNU himself in a human form : hence they consider the third RA'MA, his elder brother, as the eighth *Avatár* invested with an *emanation* of his divine radiance ; and, in the principal *Sanscrit* dictionary, compiled about two thousand years ago, CRISHNA, VA'SADE'VA, GO'VINDA, and other names of the Shepherd God, are intermixed with epithets of NA'RA'YAN, or the Divine Spirit. All the *Avatárs* are painted with gemmed *Ethiopian*, or *Parthian*, coronets ; with rays encircling their heads ; jewels in their ears ; two necklaces, one straight, and one pendent on their bosoms with dropping gems ; garlands of well-disposed many-coloured flowers, or collars of pearls, hanging down below their waists ; loose mantles of golden tissue or dyed silk, embroidered on their hems with flowers, elegantly thrown over one shoulder, and folded, like ribbands, across the breast ; with bracelets too on one arm, and on each wrist : they are naked to the waists, and uniformly with *dark azure* flesh, in allusion, probably, to the tint of that primordial fluid, on which NA'RA'YAN moved in the beginning of time ; but their skirts are bright yellow, the colour of the curious pericarpium in the center of the water-lily, where *Nature*, as
Dr.





Dr. MURRAY observes, *in some degree discloses her secrets*, each seed containing, before it germinates, a few perfect leaves: they are sometimes drawn with that flower in one hand; a radiated elliptical ring, used as a missile weapon, in a second; the sacred shell, or left-handed buccinum, in a third; and a mace or battle-ax, in a fourth; but CRISHNA, when he appears, as he sometimes does appear, among the *Avatārs*, is more splendidly decorated than any, and wears a rich garland of sylvan flowers, whence he is named VANAMA'LI, as low as his ankles, which are adorned with strings of pearls. Dark blue, approaching to black, which is the meaning of the word *Crishna*, is believed to have been his complexion; and hence the large bee of that colour is consecrated to him, and is often drawn fluttering over his head: that azure tint, which approaches to blackness, is peculiar, as we have already remarked, to VISHNU; and hence, in the great reservoir or cistern at *Cātmandu* the capital of *Népal*, there is placed in a recumbent posture a large well-proportioned image of blue marble, representing NA'RA'YAN floating on the waters. But let us return to the actions of CRISHNA; who was not less heroick, than lovely, and, when a boy, slew the terrible serpent *Cāliya* with a number of giants and monsters: at a more advanced age, he put to death his cruel enemy CANSA; and, having taken under his protection the king YUDHISHT'HIR and the other *Pāndus*, who had been grievously oppressed by the *Curus*, and their tyrannical chief, he kindled the war described in the great Epick Poem, entitled the *Mahābhārat*, at the prosperous conclusion of which he returned to his heavenly seat in *Vaicoṇṭha*, having left the instructions comprised in the *Gītā* with his disconsolate friend ARJUN, whose grandson became sovereign of *India*.

In this picture it is impossible not to discover, at the first glance, the features of APOLLO, surnamed *Nomios*, or the *Pastoral*, in *Greece*, and OPIFER in *Italy*; who fed the herds of ADMETUS, and slew the serpent *Python*;

Pythón; a God amorous, beautiful, and warlike: the word *Góvinda* may be literally translated *Nomios*, as *Césva* is *Crinitus*, or *with fine hair*; but whether *Gópála*, or the *herdsman*, has any relation to *Apollo*, let our Etymologists determine. Colonel VALLANCEY, whose learned enquiries into the ancient literature of *Ireland* are highly interesting, assures me, that *Grishna* in *Irish* means the SUN; and we find APOLLO and SOL considered by the *Roman* poets as the same deity: I am inclined, indeed, to believe, that not only CRISHNA or VISHNU, but even BRAHMA' and SIVA, when united, and expressed by the mystical word O'M, were designed by the first idolaters to represent the Solar fire; but PHÆBUS, or the *orb of the Sun* personified, is adored by the *Indians* as the God SU'RYA, whence the sect, who pay him particular adoration, are called *Sauras*: their poets and painters describe his car as drawn by seven green horses, preceded by ARUN, or the *Dawn*, who acts as his charioteer, and followed by thousands of Genii worshipping him and modulating his praises. He has a multitude of names, and among them twelve epithets or titles, which denote his distinct *powers* in each of the twelve months: those *powers* are called *Adityas*, or sons of ADITI by CASYAPA, the *Indian* URANUS; and one of them has, according to some authorities, the name of VISHNU or *Pervader*. SU'RYA is believed to have descended frequently from his car in a human shape, and to have left a race on earth, who are equally renowned in the *Indian* stories with the *Heliadaí* of *Greece*: it is very singular, that his two sons called ASWINAU or ASWINI'CUMA'RAU, in the dual, should be considered as twin-brothers, and painted like CASTOR and POLLUX, but they have each the character of ÆSCULAPIUS among the Gods, and are believed to have been born of a nymph, who, in the form of a mare, was impregnated with sun-beams. I suspect the whole fable of CASYAPA and his progeny to be astronomical; and cannot but imagine, that the *Greek* name CASSIOPEIA has a relation to it. Another great *Indian* family are called the *Children of the Moon*, or CHANDRA; who

is a male Deity, and consequently not to be compared with ARTEMIS or DIANA ; nor have I yet found a parallel in *India* for the Goddess of the *Chase*, who seems to have been the daughter of an *European* fancy, and very naturally created by the invention of *Bucolick* and *Georgick* poets : yet, since the *Moon* is a *form* of I'SWARA, the God of Nature, according to the verse of CALIDA'SA, and since I'SA'NI has been shown to be his *consort* or *power*, we may consider her, in one of her characters, as LUNA ; especially as we shall soon be convinced that, in the shades below, she corresponds with the HECATE of *Europe*.

The worship of Solar, or Vestal, *Fire* may be ascribed, like that of OSIRIS and ISIS, to the second source of mythology, or an enthusiastick admiration of Nature's wonderful powers ; and it seems, as far as I can yet understand the *Vedas*, to be the principal worship recommended in them. We have seen, that MAHA'DE'VA himself is personated by *Fire* ; but, subordinate to him, is the God AGNI, often called PA'VACA, or the *Purifier*, who answers to the VULCAN of *Egypt*, where he was a Deity of high rank ; and his wife SWA'HA' resembles the younger VESTA, or VESTIA, as the *Eolians* pronounced the *Greek* word for a *hearth* : BHAVA'NI, or VENUS, is the consort of the Supreme Destructive and Generative Power ; but the *Greeks* and *Romans*, whose system is less regular than that of the *Indians*, married her to their *divine artist*, whom they also named HEPHAISTOS and VULCAN, and who seems to be the *Indian* VISWACARMAN, the *forger of arms* for the Gods, and inventor of the *agnyastra*, or *fiery shaft*, in the war between them and the *Daityas* or *Titans*. It is not easy here to refrain from observing (and, if the observation give offence in *England*, it is contrary to my intention) that the newly discovered planet should unquestionably be named VULCAN ; since the confusion of analogy in the names of the planets is inelegant, unscholarly, and unphilosophical : the name URANUS is appropriated to the firmament ; but VULCAN, the slowest of the Gods, and, according
to

to the *Egyptian* priests, the oldest of them, agrees admirably with an orb, which must perform its revolution in a very long period; and, by giving it this denomination, we shall have seven primary planets with the names of as many *Roman* Deities, MERCURY, VENUS, TELLUS, MARS, JUPITER, SATURN, VULCAN.

It has already been intimated, that the MUSES and NYMPHS are the *Go'pya* of *Matb'urà*, and of *Góverdhan*, the *Parnassus* of the *Hindus*; and the lyric poems of JAYADEVA will fully justify this opinion; but the *Nymphs* of *Musick* are the thirty RA'GINI's or *Female Passions*, whose various functions and properties are so richly delineated by the *Indian* painters and so finely described by the poets; but I will not anticipate what will require a separate Essay, by enlarging here on the beautiful allegories of the *Hindus* in their system of musical modes, which they call RA'GA's, or *Passions*, and supposed to be Genii, or Demigods. A very distinguished son of BRAHMA', named NA'RED, whose actions are the subject of a *Purána*, bears a strong resemblance to HERMES or MERCURY: he was a wise legislator, great in arts and in arms, an eloquent messenger of the Gods either to one another or to favoured mortals, and a musician of exquisite skill; his invention of the *Vind*, or *Indian* lute, is thus described in the poem entitled *Mágba*: "NA'RED sat watching
"from time to time his large *Vind*, which, by the impulse of the
"breeze, yielded notes, that pierced successively the regions of his ear,
"and proceeded by musical intervals." The law tract, supposed to have been revealed by NA'RED, is at this hour cited by the *Pandits*; and we cannot, therefore, believe him to have been the patron of *Thieves*; though an innocent theft of CAISHNA's cattle, by way of putting his divinity to a proof, be strangely imputed, in the *Bhágavat*, to his father BRAHMA'.

The last of the *Greek* or *Italian* divinities, for whom we find a parallel in the Pantheon of *India*, is the *Stygian* or *Taurick* DIANA, other-
wife



wife named *HECATE*, and often confounded with *PROSERPINE*; and there can be no doubt of her identity with *CA'LI'*, or the wife of *SIVA* in his character of the *Stygian* *JOVE*. To this black Goddess with a collar of golden skulls, as we see her exhibited in all her principal temples, *human sacrifices* were anciently offered, as the *Védas* enjoined; but, in the present age, they are absolutely prohibited, as are also the sacrifices of bulls and horses: kids are still offered to her; and, to palliate the cruelty of the slaughter, which gave such offence to *BUDDHA*, the *Bráhmans* inculcate a belief, that the poor victims rise in the heaven of *INDRA*, where they become the musicians of his band. Instead of the obsolete, and now illegal, sacrifices of a man, a bull, and a horse, called *Neramédha*, *Gómédha*, and *As'wamédha*, the powers of nature are thought to be propitiated by the less bloody ceremonies at the end of autumn, when the festivals of *CA'LI'* and *LACSHMI'* are solemnized nearly at the same time: now, if it be asked, how the Goddess of Death came to be united with the mild patroness of Abundance, I must propose another question, "How came *PROSERPINE* to be represented "in the *European* system as the daughter of *CERES*?" Perhaps, both questions may be answered by the proposition of natural philosophers, that "the apparent destruction of a substance is the production of it in "a different form." The wild musick of *CA'LI'*'s priests at one of her festivals brought instantly to my recollection the *Scythian* measures of *DIANA*'s adorers in the splendid opera of *IPHIGENIA* in *Tauris*, which *GLUCK* exhibited at *Paris* with less genius, indeed, than art, but with every advantage that an orchestra could supply.

That we may not dismiss this assemblage of *European* and *Asiatick* divinities with a subject so horrid as the altars of *HECATE* and *CA'LI'*, let us conclude with two remarks, which properly, indeed, belong to the *Indian* Philosophy, with which we are not at present concerned. First;

Elysium

Elysium (not the place, but the bliss enjoyed there, in which sense MILTON uses the word) cannot but appear, as described by the poets, a very tedious and insipid kind of enjoyment: it is, however, more exalted than the temporary *Elysium* in the court of INDRA, where the pleasures, as in MUHAMMED'S paradise, are wholly sensual; but the *Muṣṭi*, or *Elysian* happiness of the *Védānta* School is far more sublime; for they represent it as a total absorption, though not such as to destroy consciousness, in the divine essence; but, for the reason before suggested, I say no more of this idea of beatitude, and forbear touching on the doctrine of transmigration and the similarity of the *Védānta* to the *Sicilian*, *Italick*, and old *Academick* Schools.

Secondly; in the mystical and elevated character of PAN, as a personification of the *Universe*, according to the notion of lord BACON, there arises a sort of similitude between him and CRISHNA considered as NA'RA'YAN. The *Grecian* god plays divinely on his reed, to express, we are told, ethereal harmony; he has his attendant Nymphs of the pastures and the dairy; his face is as radiant as the sky, and his head illumined with the horns of a crescent; whilst his lower extremities are deformed and shaggy, as a symbol of the vegetables, which the earth produces, and of the beasts, who roam over the face of it: now we may compare this portrait, partly with the general character of CRISHNA, the Shepherd God, and partly with the description in the *Bhāgavat* of the divine spirit exhibited in the form of this Universal World; to which we may add the following story from the same extraordinary poem. The Nymphs had complained to YASO'DA', that the child CRISHNA had been drinking their curds and milk: on being reproved by his foster-mother for this indiscretion, he requested her to examine his mouth; in which, to her just amazement, she beheld the whole universe in all its plenitude of magnificence.

We must not be surprized at finding, on a close examination, that the characters of all the pagan deities, male and female, melt into each other, and at last into one or two; for it seems a well-founded opinion, that the whole crowd of gods and goddeses in ancient *Rome*, and modern *Várúnes*, mean only the powers of nature, and principally those of the SUN, expressed in a variety of ways and by a multitude of fanciful names.

Thus have I attempted to trace, imperfectly at present for want of ampler materials, but with a confidence continually increasing as I advanced, a parallel between the Gods adored in three very different nations, *Greece*, *Italy*, and *India*; but, which was the original system and which the copy, I will not presume to decide; nor are we likely, I believe, to be soon furnished with sufficient grounds for a decision: the fundamental rule, that *natural, and most human, operations proceed from the simple to the compound*, will afford no assistance on this point; since neither the *Asiatick* nor *European* system has any simplicity in it; and both are so complex, not to say absurd, however intermixed with the beautiful and the sublime, that the honour, such as it is, of the invention cannot be allotted to either with tolerable certainty.

Since *Egypt* appears to have been the grand source of knowledge for the *western*, and *India* for the more *eastern*, parts of the globe, it may seem a material question, whether the *Egyptians* communicated their Mythology and Philosophy to the *Hindus*, or conversely; but what the learned of *Memphis* wrote or said concerning *India*, no mortal knows; and what the learned of *Várúnes* have asserted, if any thing, concerning *Egypt*, can give us little satisfaction: such circumstantial evidence on this question as I have been able to collect, shall nevertheless be stated; because, unsatisfactory as it is, there may be something in it not wholly unworthy of notice; though after all, whatever colonies may have come

from the *Nile* to the *Ganges*, we shall, perhaps, agree at last with Mr. BRYANT, that *Egyptians*, *Indians*, *Creeks*, and *Italians*, proceeded originally from one central place, and that the same people carried their religion and sciences into *China* and *Japan*: may we not add, even to *Mexico* and *Peru*?

Every one knows, that the true name of *Egypt* is *Mis'r*, spelled with a palatial fibilant both in *Hebrew* and *Arabick*: it seems in *Hebrew* to have been the proper name of the first settler in it; and, when the *Arabs* use the word for a great city, they probably mean a city like the capital of *Egypt*. Father MARCO, a *Roman* Missionary, who, though not a scholar of the first rate, is incapable, I am persuaded, of deliberate falsehood, lent me the last book of a *Râm-yan*, which he had translated through the *Hindi* into his native language, and with it a short vocabulary of Mythological and Historical names, which had been explained to him by the *Pandits* of *Bethyà*, where he had long resided: one of the articles in his little dictionary was, "*Tirút*, a town and province, "in which the priests from *Egypt* settled;" and, when I asked him, what name *Egypt* bore among the *Hindus*, he said *Mis'r*, but observed, that they sometimes confounded it with *Abyssinia*. I perceived, that his memory of what he had written was correct; for *Mis'r* was another word in his index, "from which country, he said, came the *Egyptian* "priests, who settled in *Tirút*." I suspected immediately, that his intelligence flowed from the *Muselmans*, who call sugar-candy *Mis'ri* or *Egyptian*; but, when I examined him closely, and earnestly desired him to recollect from whom he had received his information, he repeatedly and positively declared, that "it had been given him by several *Hindus*, "and particularly by a *Bráhma*n, his intimate friend, who was reputed "a considerable *Pandit*, and had lived three years near his house." We then conceived, that the seat of his *Egyptian* colony must have been *Tiróbit*, commonly pronounced *Tirút*, and anciently called *Mit'hila*, the principal

principal town of *Janacads'a*, or north *Babir*; but MAHE'SA *Pandit*, who was born in that very district, and who submitted patiently to a long examination concerning *Mis'r*, overset all our conclusions: he denied, that the *Bráhmans* of his country were generally surnamed *MISRA*, as we had been informed; and said, that the addition of *MISRA* to the name of VA'CHESPETI, and other learned authors, was a title formerly conferred on the writers of *miscellanies*, or *compilers* of various tracts on religion or science, the word being derived from a root signifying to *mix*. Being asked, where the country of *Mis'r* was, "There are two, he answered, of that name; one of them *in the west* under the dominion of " *Muselmans*, and another, which all the *Sástras* and *Puránas* mention, "in a mountainous region to the north of *Ayódhya*:" it is evident, that by the first he meant *Egypt*, but what he meant by the second, it is not easy to ascertain. A country, called *Tirubut* by our geographers, appears in the maps between the north-eastern frontier of *Audb* and the mountains of *Nípal*; but whether that was the *Tirút* mentioned to father MARCO by his friend of *Betiya*, I cannot decide. This only I know with certainty, that *Misra* is an epithet of two *Bráhmans* in the drama of *SACONTALA'*, which was written near a century before the birth of CHRIST; that some of the greatest lawyers, and two of the finest dramatick poets, of *India* have the same title; that we hear it frequently in court added to the names of *Hindu* parties; and that none of the *Pandits*, whom I have since consulted, pretend to know the true meaning of the word, as a proper name, or to give any other explanation of it than that it is *a surname of Bráhmans in the west*. On the account given to Colonel KYN by the old *Rájá* of *Crishtnanagar*, "concerning traditions "among the *Hindus*, that some *Egyptians* had settled in this country," I cannot rely; because I am credibly informed by some of the *Rájá's* own family, that he was not a man of solid learning, though he possessed curious books, and had been attentive to the conversation of learned men: besides, I know that his son and most of his kinsmen have been

dabblers

dabblers in *Persian* literature, and believe them very likely, by confounding one source of information with another, to puzzle themselves and mislead those, with whom they converse. The word *Mis'r*, spelled also in *Sanfrit* with a palatial fibilant, is very remarkable; and, as far as Etymology can help us, we may safely derive *Nilus* from the *Sanfrit* word *nila*, or *blue*; since DIONYSIUS expressly calls the waters of that river “an *azure* stream;” and, if we can depend on MARCO'S *Italian* version of the *Rámáyan*, the name of *Nila* is given to a lofty and sacred mountain with a summit of pure gold, from which flowed a river of clear, sweet, and fresh water. M. SONNERAT refers to a dissertation by Mr. SCHMIT, which gained a prize at the Academy of Inscriptions, “On an *Egyptian* Colony established in *India* :” it would be worth while to examine his authorities, and either to overturn or verify them by such higher authorities, as are now accessible in these provinces. I strongly incline to think him right, and to believe that *Egyptian* priests have actually come from the *Nile* to the *Gangà* and *Yamunà*, which the *Bráhmans* most assuredly would never have left: they might indeed, have come either to be instructed or to instruct; but it seems more probable, that they visited the *Surmans* of *India*, as the sages of *Greece* visited them, rather to acquire than to impart knowledge; nor is it likely, that the self-sufficient *Bráhmans* would have received them as their preceptors.

Be all this as it may, I am persuaded, that a connexion subsisted between the old idolatrous nations of *Egypt*, *India*, *Greece*, and *Italy*, long before they migrated to their several settlements, and consequently before the birth of *Moses*; but the proof of this proposition will in no degree affect the truth and sanctity of the *Mosaick* History, which, if confirmation were necessary, it would rather tend to confirm. The *Divine Legate*, educated by the daughter of a king, and in all respects highly accomplished, could not but know the mythological system of *Egypt*;

but

but he must have condemned the superstitions of that people, and despised the speculative absurdities of their priests; though some of their traditions concerning the creation and the flood were grounded on truth. Who was better acquainted with the mythology of *Athens* than SOCRATES? Who more accurately versed in the Rabbinical doctrines than PAUL? Who possessed clearer ideas of all ancient astronomical systems than NEWTON, or of scholastick metaphysics than LOCKE? In whom could the *Romish* Church have had a more formidable opponent than in CHILLINGWORTH, whose deep knowledge of its tenets rendered him so competent to dispute them? In a word, who more exactly knew the abominable rites and shocking idolatry of *Canaan* than MOSES himself? Yet the learning of those great men only incited them to seek other sources of truth, piety, and virtue, than those in which they had long been immersed. There is no shadow then of a foundation for an opinion, that MOSES borrowed the first nine or ten chapters of *Genesis* from the literature of *Egypt*: still less can the adamantine pillars of our *Christian* faith be moved by the result of any debates on the comparative antiquity of the *Hindus* and *Egyptians*, or of any inquiries into the *Indian* Theology. Very respectable natives have assured me, that one or two missionaries have been absurd enough, in their zeal for the conversion of the *Gentiles*, to urge, “that the *Hindus* were even now almost “*Christians*, because their BRAHMA’, VISHNU, and MAHE’S A, were no “other than the *Christian* Trinity;” a sentence, in which we can only doubt, whether folly, ignorance, or impiety predominates. The three powers, *Creative*, *Preservative*, and *Destructive*, which the *Hindus* express by the triliteral word *O’m*, were grossly ascribed by the first idolaters to the *heat*, *light*, and *flame* of their mistaken divinity, the Sun; and their wiser successors in the East, who perceived that the Sun was only a created thing, applied those powers to its creator; but the *Indian* Triad, and that of PLATO, which he calls the Supreme Good, the Reason,

son, and the Soul, are infinitely removed from the holiness and sublimity of the doctrine, which pious *Christians* have deduced from texts in the Gospel, though other *Christians*, as pious, openly profess their dissent from them. Each sect must be justified by its own faith and good intentions: this only I mean to inculcate, that the tenet of our church cannot without profaneness be compared with that of the *Hindus*, which has only an apparent resemblance to it, but a very different meaning. One singular fact, however, must not be suffered to pass unnoticed. That the name of CRISHNA, and the general outline of his story, were long anterior to the birth of our Saviour, and probably to the time of HOMER, we know very certainly; yet the celebrated poem, entitled *Bhāgavat*, which contains a prolix account of his life, is filled with narratives of a most extraordinary kind, but strangely variegated and intermixed with poetical decorations: the incarnate deity of the *Sanscrit* romance was cradled, as it informs us, among *Herdsman*, but it adds, that he was educated among them, and passed his youth in playing with a party of milkmaids; a tyrant, at the time of his birth, ordered all newborn males to be slain, yet this wonderful babe was preserved by biting the breast, instead of sucking the poisoned nipple, of a nurse commissioned to kill him; he performed amazing, but ridiculous, miracles in his infancy, and, at the age of seven years, held up a mountain on the tip of his little finger: he saved multitudes partly by his arms and partly by his miraculous powers; he raised the dead by descending for that purpose to the lowest regions; he was the meekest and best-tempered of beings, washed the feet of the *Brāhmans*, and preached very nobly, indeed, and sublimely, but always in their favour; he was pure and chaste in reality, but exhibited an appearance of excessive libertinism, and had wives or mistresses too numerous to be counted; lastly, he was benevolent and tender, yet fomented and conducted a terrible war. This motley story must induce an opinion that the spurious Gospels, which

which abounded in the first age of *Christianity*, had been brought to *India*, and the wildest parts of them repeated to the *Hindus*, who ingrafted them on the old fable of CÉSAVA, the APOLLO of *Greece*.

As to the general extension of our pure faith in *Hindustán*, there are at present many sad obstacles to it. The *Muselmáns* are already a sort of heterodox *Christians*: they are *Christians*, if LOCKE reasons justly, because they firmly believe the immaculate conception, divine character, and miracles of the MESSIAH; but they are heterodox, in denying vehemently his character of Son, and his equality, as God, with the Father, of whose unity and attributes they entertain and express the most awful ideas; while they consider our doctrine as perfect blasphemy, and insist, that our copies of the Scriptures have been corrupted both by *Jews* and *Christians*. It will be inexpressibly difficult to undeceive them, and scarce possible to diminish their veneration for MOHAMMED and ALI, who were both very extraordinary men, and the second, a man of unexceptionable morals: the *Korán* shines, indeed, with a borrowed light, since most of its beauties are taken from our Scriptures; but it has great beauties, and the *Muselmáns* will not be convinced that they were borrowed. The *Hindus* on the other hand would readily admit the truth of the Gospel; but they contend, that it is perfectly consistent with their *Sástras*: the deity, they say, has appeared innumerable times, in many parts of this world and of all worlds, for the salvation of his creatures; and though we adore him in one appearance, and they in others, yet we adore, they say, the same God, to whom our several worships, though different in form, are equally acceptable, if they be sincere in substance. We may assure ourselves, that neither *Muselmáns* nor *Hindus* will ever be converted by any mission from the Church of *Rome*, or from any other church; and the only human mode, perhaps, of causing so great a revolution will be to translate into *Sanscrit* and *Persian*

Persian such chapters of the Prophets, particularly of ISAIAH, as are indisputably Evangelical, together with one of the Gospels, and a plain prefatory discourse containing full evidence of the very distant ages, in which the predictions themselves, and the history of the divine person predicted, were severally made publick; and then quietly to disperse the work among the well-educated natives; with whom if in due time it failed of producing very salutary fruit by its natural influence, we could only lament more than ever the strength of prejudice, and the weakness of unassisted reason.

ON
THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE HINDUS.

WRITTEN IN JANUARY, 1788,

BY
THE PRESIDENT.

THE great antiquity of the *Hindus* is believed so firmly by themselves, and has been the subject of so much conversation among *Europeans*, that a short view of their Chronological System, which has not yet been exhibited from certain authorities, may be acceptable to those, who seek truth without partiality to receive opinions, and without regarding any consequences, that may result from their inquiries: the consequences, indeed, of truth cannot but be desirable, and no reasonable man will apprehend any danger to society from a general diffusion of its light; but we must not suffer ourselves to be dazzled by a false glare, nor mistake enigmas and allegories for historical verity. Attached to no system, and as much disposed to reject the *Mosaic* history, if it be proved erroneous, as to believe it, if it be confirmed by sound reasoning from indubitable evidence, I propose to lay before you a concise account of *Indian* Chronology extracted from *Sanscrit* books, or collected from conversations with *Pundits*, and to subjoin a few remarks on their system, without attempting to decide a question, which I shall venture to start, “ whe-

“ther it is not in fact the same with our own, but embellished and obscured by the fancy of their poets and the riddles of their astronomer.”

One of the most curious books in *Sanscrit*, and one of the oldest after the *Véda's*, is a tract on *religious and civil duties*, taken, as it is believed, from the oral instructions of MENU, son of BRAHMA', to the first inhabitants of the earth: a well-collated copy of this interesting law-tract is now before me; and I begin my dissertation with a few couplets from the first chapter of it: “The sun causes the division of day and night, which are of two sorts, those of men and those of the Gods; the day, for the labour of *all* creatures in their several employments; the night, for their slumber. A month is a day and night of the Patriarchs; and it is divided into two parts; the bright half is *their* day for laborious exertions; the dark half, *their* night for sleep. A year is a day and night of the Gods; and that is also divided into two halves; the day is, when the sun moves towards the north; the night, when it moves towards the south. Learn now the duration of a night and day of BRAHMA', with that of the ages respectively and in order. Four thousand years of the Gods they call the *Crîta* (or *Satya*), age; and its limits at the beginning and at the end are, in like manner, as many hundreds. In the three successive ages, together with their limits at the beginning and end of them, are thousands and hundreds diminished by one. This aggregate of four ages, amounting to twelve thousand divine years, is called an age of the Gods; and a thousand such divine ages added together must be considered as a day of BRAHMA': his night has also the same duration. The before mentioned age of the Gods, or twelve thousand of their years, multiplied by seventy-one, form what is named here below a *Manwantara*. There are *alternate* creations and destructions of *worlds* through innumerable *Manwantara's*: the Being Supremely Desirable performs all this again and again.”

Such

Such is the arrangement of infinite time, which the *Hindus* believe to have been revealed from heaven, and which they generally understand in a literal sense: it seems to have intrinsic marks of being purely astronomical; but I will not appropriate the observations of others, nor anticipate those in particular, which have been made by two or three of our members, and which they will, I hope, communicate to the society. A conjecture, however, of Mr. PATERSON has so much ingenuity in it, that I cannot forbear mentioning it here, especially as it seems to be confirmed by one of the couplets just-cited: he supposes, that, as a *month* of mortals is a day and night of the Patriarchs from the analogy of its bright and dark halves, so, by the same analogy, a day and night of mortals might have been considered by the ancient *Hindus* as a month of the lower world; and then a year of such months will consist only of twelve days and nights, and thirty such years will compose a lunar year of mortals; whence he surmises, that the *four million three hundred and twenty thousand* years, of which the four *Indian* ages are supposed to consist, mean only years of twelve days; and, in fact, that sum, divided by *thirty*, is reduced to *an hundred and forty-four thousand*: now *a thousand four hundred and forty* years are one *pada*, a period in the *Hindu* astronomy, and that sum, multiplied by *eighteen*, amounts precisely to *twenty-five thousand nine hundred and twenty*, the number of years in which the fixed stars appear to perform their long revolution eastward. The last mentioned sum is the product also of *an hundred and forty-four*, which, according to M. BAILLY, was an old *Indian* cycle, into *an hundred and eighty*, or the *Tartarian* period, called *Van*, and of *two thousand eight hundred and eighty* into *nine*, which is not only one of the lunar cycles, but considered by the *Hindus* as a mysterious number and an emblem of Divinity, because, if it be multiplied by any other whole number, the sum of the figures in the different products remains always nine, as the Deity, who appears in many forms, continues One immutable essence. The important period of *twenty-five thousand nine hundred and twenty* years

years is well known to arise from the multiplication of *three hundred and sixty* into *seventy-two*, the number of years in which a fixed star seems to move through a degree of a great circle; and, although M. Le GENTIL assures us, that the modern *Hindus* believe a complete revolution of the stars to be made in *twenty-four thousand* years, or *fifty-four* seconds of a degree to be passed in one year, yet we may have reason to think, that the old *Indian* astronomers had made a more accurate calculation, but concealed their knowledge from the people under the veil of *fourteen* MENWANTARA's, *seventy-one* divine ages, compound cycles, and years of different sorts, from those of BRAHMA' to those of *Pâtala*, or the *infernal regions*. If we follow the analogy suggested by MENU, and suppose only a day and night to be called a *year*, we may divide the number of years in a divine age by *three hundred and sixty*, and the quotient will be *twelve thousand*, or the number of his *divine years* in one age: but, conjecture apart, we need only compare the two periods 4320000 and 25920, and we shall find, that among their common divisors, are 6, 9, 12, &c. 18, 36, 72, 144, &c. which numbers with their several multiples, especially in a decuple progression, constitute some of the most celebrated periods of the *Chaldeans*, *Greeks*, *Tartars*, and even of the *Indians*. We cannot fail to observe, that the number 432, which appears to be the basis of the *Indian* system, is a 60th part of 25920, and, by continuing the comparison, we might probably solve the whole enigma. In the preface to a *Vérânes Almanack* I find the following wild stanza: "A *thousand* " Great Ages are a day of BRAHMA'; a *thousand* such days are an *Indian* " hour of VISHNU; *six hundred thousand* such hours make a period of " RUDRA; and a million of *Rudra's* (or *two quadrillions five hundred and* " *ninety-two thousand trillions of lunar years*), are but a *second* to the Su- " preme Being." The *Hindu* theologians deny the conclusion of the stanza to be orthodox: "Time, they say, *exists not at all with God*;" and they advise the Astronomers to mind their own business without meddling with theology. The astronomical verse, however, will answer our present

sent purpose ; for it shows, in the first place, that cyphers are added at pleasure to swell the periods ; and, if we take ten cyphers from a *Rudra*, or divide by ten thousand millions, we shall have a period of 259200000 years, which, divided by 60 (the usual divisor of *time* among the *Hindus*) will give 4320000, or a Great Age, which we find subdivided in the proportion of 4, 3, 2, 1, from the notion of *virtue* decreasing arithmetically in the *golden, silver, copper, and earthen*, ages. But, should it be thought improbable, that the *Indian* astronomers in very early times had made more accurate observations than those of *Alexandria, Bagdad, or Marághah*, and still more improbable that they should have relapsed without apparent cause into error, we may suppose, that they formed their divine age by an arbitrary multiplication of 24000 by 180 according to M. Le GENTIL, or of 21600 by 200 according to the comment on the *Súrya Siddhánta*. Now, as it is *hardly* possible, that such coincidences should be accidental, we may hold it *nearly* demonstrated, that the period of a *divine age* was at first merely astronomical, and may consequently reject it from our present inquiry into the historical or civil chronology of *India*. Let us, however, proceed to the avowed opinions of the *Hindus*, and see, when we have ascertained their system, whether we can reconcile it to the course of nature and the common sense of mankind.

The aggregate of their four ages they call a divine age, and believe that, in every thousand such ages, or in every *day* of BRAHMA', *fourteen* MENU's are successively invested by him with the sovereignty of the earth : each MENU, they suppose, transmits his empire to his sons and grandsons during a period of seventy-one divine ages ; and such a period they name a *Manwantara* ; but, since *fourteen* multiplied by *seventy-one* are not quite a *thousand*, we must conclude, that *six* divine ages are allowed for intervals between the *Manwantara's*, or for the twilight of BRAHMA''s day. Thirty such days, or *Calpas*, constitute, in their opinion, a *month* of BRAHMA' ; twelve such months, one of his years ; and

and an hundred such years, his age; of which age they assert, that fifty years have elapsed. We are now then, according to the *Mahabharata*, in the first day or *Calpa* of the first month of the fifty-first year of BRAHMA's age, and in the twenty-eighth divine age of the seventh *Manvantara*, of which divine age the *three first* human ages have passed, and *four thousand eight hundred and eighty-eight* of the *fourth*.

In the present day of BRAHMA' the first MENU was surnamed SWAYAMBHUVA, or *Son of the Self-existent*; and it is He, by whom the *Institutes of Religious and Civil Duties* are supposed to have been delivered: in his time the Deity descended at a *Sacrifice*, and, by his wife SATARUPA', he had two distinguished sons, and three daughters. This pair was created, for the multiplication of the human species, after that new creation of the world, which the *Bráhmans* call *Pádmacalpya*, or the *Lotos-creation*.

If it were worth while to calculate the age of MENU's Institutes, according to the *Bráhmans*, we must multiply four million three hundred and twenty thousand by six times seventy-one, and add to the product the number of years already past in the seventh *Manvantara*. Of the five MENU's, who succeeded him, I have seen little more than the names; but the *Hindu* writings are very diffuse on the life and posterity of the *seventh* MENU, surnamed VAIVASWATA, or *Child of the Sun*: he is supposed to have had ten sons, of whom the eldest was ICSHWA'CU; and to have been accompanied by seven *Rishi's*, or holy persons, whose names were, CASYAPA, ATRI, VASISHTHA, VISWAMITRA, GAUTAMA, JAMADAGNI, and BHARADWA'JA; an account, which explains the opening of the fourth chapter of the *Gita*: "This immutable system of devotion, says CRISHNA, I revealed to VIVASWAT, or the Sun; VIVASWAT declared it to his son MENU; MENU explained it to ICSHWA'CU: thus the Chief *Rishi's* know this sublime doctrine delivered from one to another."

In the reign of this *Sun-born* Monarch the *Hindus* believe the whole earth to have been drowned, and the whole human race destroyed by a flood, except the pious Prince himself, the seven *Rīṣi's*, and their several wives; for they suppose his children to have been born after the deluge. This general *pralaya*, or destruction, is the subject of the first *Purāna*, or *Sacred Poem*, which consists of fourteen thousand Stanzas; and the story is concisely, but clearly and elegantly, told in the eighth book of the *Bhāgawata*, from which I have extracted the whole, and translated it with great care, but will only present you here with an abridgement of it. “The demon HAYAGRĪVA having purloined the “*Vēdas* from the custody of BRAHMA’, while he was reposing at the “close of the sixth *Manwantara*, the whole race of men became corrupt, “except the seven *Rīṣi's*, and SATYAVRATA, who then reigned in “*Dravira*, a maritime region to the south of *Carnāta*: this prince was “performing his ablutions in the river *Crītamālā*, when VISHNU ap- “peared to him in the shape of a small fish, and, after several augmen- “tations of bulk in different waters, was placed by SATYAVRATA in “the ocean, where he thus addressed his amazed votary: ‘In *seven* days ‘all creatures, who have offended me, shall be destroyed by a deluge, ‘but thou shalt be secured in a capacious vessel miraculously formed: ‘take therefore all kinds of medicinal herbs and esculent grain for food, ‘and, together with the seven holy men, your respective wives, and ‘pairs of all animals, enter the ark without fear; then shalt thou know ‘God face to face, and all thy questions shall be answered.’ Saying this, he disappeared; and, after seven days, the ocean “began to “overflow the coasts, and the earth to be flooded by constant showers, “when SATYAVRATA, meditating on the Deity, saw a large vessel “moving on the waters: he entered it, having in all respects conformed “to the instructions of VISHNU; who, in the form of a vast fish, suffered “the vessel to be tied with a great sea serpent, as with a cable, to his “measureless horn. When the deluge had ceased, VISHNU slew the “demon,

“ demon, and recovered the *Vēda's*, instructed SATYAVRATA in divine knowledge, and appointed him the seventh MENU by the name of “ VAIVASWATA.’ Let us compare the two *Indian* accounts of the *Creation* and the *Deluge* with those delivered by MOSES. It is not made a question in this tract, whether the first chapters of *Genesis* are to be understood in a literal, or merely in an allegorical, sense: the only points before us are, whether the creation described by the *first* MENU, which the *Brāhmans* call that of the *Lotos*, be not the same with that recorded in our Scripture, and whether the story of the *seventh* MENU be not one and the same with that of NOAH. I propose the questions, but affirm nothing; leaving others to settle their opinions, whether ADAM be derived from *ādīm*, which in *Sanſcrit* means the *first*, or MENU from NUH, the true name of the Patriarch; whether the *Sacrifice*, at which GOD is believed to have descended, allude to the offering of ABEL; and, on the whole, whether the two MENU’S can mean any other persons than the great progenitor, and the restorer, of our species.

On a supposition, that VAIVASWATA, or *Sun-born*, was the NOAH of Scripture, let us proceed to the *Indian* account of his posterity, which I extract from the *Purānart’haprecās’a*, or *The Purāna’s Explained*, a work lately composed in *Sanſcrit* by RA’DHA’CA’NTA SARMAN, a *Pundit* of extensive learning and great fame among the *Hindus* of this province. Before we examine the genealogies of kings, which he has collected from the *Purāna’s*, it will be necessary to give a general idea of the *Avatāra’s*, or *Descents*, of the Deity: the *Hindus* believe innumerable such descents or special interpositions of providence in the affairs of mankind, but they reckon *ten* principal *Avatāra’s* in the current period of four ages; and all of them are described, in order as they are supposed to occur, in the following Ode of JAYADĒVA, the great Lyrick Poet of *India*.

1. “ Thou

1. “ Thou recoverest the *Védz* in the water of the ocean of destruction, *placing it* joyfully in the bosom of an ark fabricated *by thee* ;
 “ O CE'SAVA, assuming the body of a *fish* : be victorious, O HERI,
 “ lord of the Universe !

2. “ The earth stands firm on thy immensely broad back, which
 “ grows larger from the callus occasioned by bearing that vast burden,
 “ O CE'SAVA, assuming the body of a *tortoise* : be victorious, O HERI,
 “ lord of the Universe !

3. “ The earth, placed on the point of thy tusk, remains fixed like
 “ the figure of a black antelope on the moon, O CE'SAVA, assuming
 “ the form of a *boar* : be victorious, O HERI, lord of the Universe !”

4. The claw with a stupendous point, on the exquisite lotos of thy lion's paw, is the black bee, that stung the body of the embowelled HIRANYACASIPU, O CE'SAVA, assuming the form of a *man-lion* : be victorious, O HERI, lord of the Universe !

5. By thy power thou beguilest BALI, O thou miraculous dwarf, thou purifier of men with the water (of *Gangà*) springing from thy feet, O CE'SAVA, assuming the form of a *dwarf* : be victorious, O HERI, lord of the Universe !

6. Thou bathest in pure water, consisting of the blood of *Cshatriya's*, the world, whose offences are removed and who are relieved from the pain of other births, O CE'SAVA, assuming the form of PARAS'U-RA'MA : be victorious, O HERI, lord of the Universe !

7. With ease to thyself, with delight to the Genii of the eight regions, thou scatterest on all sides in the plain of combat the demon with

ten heads, O CE'SAVA, assuming the form of RA'MA-CHANDRA: be victorious, O HERI, lord of the Universe!

8. Thou wearest on thy bright body a mantle shining like a blue cloud, or like the water of *Yamunà* tripping toward thee through fear of thy furrowing *plough share*, O CE'SAVA, assuming the form of BALA-RA'MA: be victorious, O HERI, lord of the Universe!

9. Thou blamest (oh, wonderful!) the whole *Veda*, when thou feest, O kind-hearted, the slaughter of cattle prescribed for sacrifice, O CE'SAVA, assuming the body of BUDDHA: be victorious, O HERI, lord of the Universe!

10. For the destruction of all the impure thou drawest thy cimeter like a blazing comet (how tremendous!), O CE'SAVA, assuming the body of CALCI: be victorious, O HERI, lord of the Universe!

These ten *Avatāra's* are by some arranged according to the thousands of divine years in each of the four ages, or in an arithmetical proportion from four to one; and, if such an arrangement were universally received, we should be able to ascertain a very material point in the *Hindu* Chronology; I mean the birth of BUDDHA, concerning which the different *Pandits*, whom I have consulted, and the same *Pandits* at different times, have expressed a strange diversity of opinion. They all agree, that CALCI is yet to come, and that BUDDHA was the last considerable incarnation of the Deity; but the astronomers at *Varanasi* place him in the *third* age, and RA'DHA'CA'NT insists, that he appeared after the *thousandth* year of the *fourth*: the learned and accurate author of the *Dabj-tān*, whose information concerning the *Hindus* is wonderfully correct, mentions an opinion of the *Pandits*, with whom he had conversed, that BUDDHA began his career *ten* years before the close of the third age;

and

and GO'VERDHANA of *Cashmîr*, who had once informed me, that CRISHNA descended *two centuries* before BUDDHA, assured me lately, that the *Cashmîrians* admitted an interval of *twenty-four* years (others allow only *twelve*) between those two divine persons. The best authority, after all, is the *Bhâgawat* itself, in the first chapter of which it is expressly declared, that "BUDDHA, the son of JINA, would appear at *Cicat'a*, for the purpose of confounding the demons, *just at the beginning* of the *Caliyug*." I have long been convinced, that, on these subjects, we can only reason satisfactorily from *written* evidence, and that our forensick rule must be invariably applied, *to take the declarations of the Brâhmanas most strongly against themselves*, that is, *against their pretensions to antiquity*; so that, on the whole, we may safely place BUDDHA *just at the beginning* of the *present* age: but what is the *beginning* of it? When this question was proposed to RA'DHA'CA'NT, he answered: "of a period comprising more than four hundred thousand years, the first two or three thousand may reasonably be called *the beginning*." On my demanding *written* evidence, he produced a book of some authority, composed by a learned Gôswâmi, and entitled *Bhâgawatâmrita*, or, the *Nectar of the Bhâgawat*, on which it is a metrical comment; and the couplet which he read from it deserves to be cited: after the just mentioned account of BUDDHA in the text, the commentator says,

Asau vyañtahi calêrabdasahasradwitayê gatê,

Mûrtih pat'alavernâ'jya dwibhujâ chichurôjj'bitâ.

- He became visible, the-thousand-and-second-year-of-the-Cali-age, be-
 • ing past; his body of-a-colour-between-white-and-ruddy, with-two-
 • arms, without-hair on his head.'

Cicat'a, named in the text as the birth place of BUDDHA, the Gôswâmi supposes to have been *Dhermâranya*, a wood near *Gayâ*, where a colossal image of that ancient Deity still remains: it seemed to me of
 black

black stone; but, as I saw it by torch-light, I cannot be positive as to its colour, which may, indeed, have been changed by time.

The *Bráhmans* universally speak of the *Bauddhas* with all the malignity of an intolerant spirit; yet the most orthodox among them consider BUDDHA himself as an incarnation of VISHNU: this is a contradiction hard to be reconciled; unless we cut the knot, instead of untying it, by supposing with GIORGI, that there were *two* BUDDHAS, the younger of whom established the new religion, which gave so great offence in *India*, and was introduced into *China* in the first century of our era. The *Cashmirian* before mentioned asserted this fact, without being led to it by any question that implied it; and we may have reason to suppose, that *Buddha* is in truth only a general word for a *Philosopher*: the author of a celebrated *Sanscrit* Dictionary, entitled from his name *Amarasinha*, who was himself a *Bauddha*, and flourished in the first century before CHRIST, begins his vocabulary with nine words, that signify *learned*, and proceeds to those, which mean *a deity in general*; after which come different *classes* of *Gods*, *Demigods*, and *Demons*, all by *generic* names; and they are followed by two very remarkable heads; first, (not the *general names* of BUDDHA, but) the names of a *Buddha-in-general*, of which he gives us eighteen, such as *Muni*, *Sástrī*, *Munindra*, *Vidyava*, *Samantabhadra*, *Dhermarāja*, *Sugata*, and the like; most of them significative of *excellence*, *wisdom*, *virtue*, and *sanctity*; secondly, the names of a *particular-Buddha-Muni-who-descended-in-the-family-of-SA'C'YA* (these are the very words of the original), and his titles are, *Sácyamuni*, *Sácyasinha*, *Servárt'hasiddha*, *Saudhódani*, *Gautama*, *Arcabandhu*, or *Kinsman of the Sun*, and *Máyádevífuta*, or *Child of MA'YA*: thence the author passes to the different epithets of particular *Hindu* Deities. When I pointed out this curious passage to RA'DHA'CA'NT, he contended, that the first eighteen names were *general* epithets, and the following seven,

proper

proper names, or patronymicks, of one and the same person ; but RA'MA-LO'CHAN, my own teacher, who, though not a Bráhmán, is an excellent scholar and a very sensible unprejudiced man, assured me, that Buddha was a generick word, like D'va, and that the learned author, having exhibited the names of a D'vutà in general, proceeded to those of a Buddha in general, before he came to particulars : he added, that Buddha might mean a Sage or a Philosopher, though Budba was the word commonly used for a mere wise man without supernatural powers. It seems highly probable, on the whole, that the BUDDHA, whom JAYADE'VA celebrates in his Hymn, was the Sácyasinha, or Lion of SA'CYA, who, though he forbade the sacrifices of cattle, which the V'eda's enjoin, was believed to be VISHNU himself in a human form, and that another Buddha, one perhaps of his followers in a later age, assuming his name and character, attempted to overset the whole system of the Bráhmans, and was the cause of that persecution, from which the Baudddhas are known to have fled into very distant regions. May we not reconcile the singular difference of opinion among the Hindus as to the time of BUDDHA's appearance, by supposing that they have confounded the Two Buddha's, the first of whom was born a few years before the close of the last age, and the second, when above a thousand years of the present age had elapsed? We know, from better authorities, and with as much certainty as can justly be expected on so doubtful a subject, the real time, compared with our own era, when the ancient BUDDHA began to distinguish himself; and it is for this reason principally, that I have dwelled with minute anxiety on the subject of the last Avatàr.

The Bráhmans, who assisted ABU'LEAZL in his curious, but superficial, account of his master's Empire, informed him, if the figures in the *Ayini Acbari* be correctly written, that a period of 2902 years had elapsed from the birth of BUDDHA to the 40th year of ACBAR's reign, which computation will place his birth in the 1300th year before that of

our Saviour; but, when the *Chinese* government admitted a new religion from *India* in the first century of our era, they made particular inquiries concerning the age of the old *Indian* BUDDHA, whose birth, according to COUPLET, they place in the 41st year of their 24th cycle, or 1000 years before CHRIST, and they call him, says he, Fo, the son of MOU or MA'YA'; but M. DE GUIGNES, on the authority of four *Chinese* Historians, asserts, that Fo was born about the year before CHRIST 1027, in the kingdom of *Cashmir*: GIORGI, or rather CAESARIO, from whose papers his work was compiled, assures us, that, by the calculation of the *Tibetians*, he appeared only 950 years before the *Christian* epoch; and M. BAILLY, with some hesitation, places him 1001 years before it, but inclines to think him far more ancient, confounding him, as I have done in a former tract, with the *first* BUDDHA, or MERCURY, whom the *Goths* called WODEN, and of whom I shall presently take particular notice. Now, whether we assume the medium of the four last-mentioned dates, or implicitly rely on the authorities quoted by DE GUIGNES, we may conclude, that BUDDHA was first distinguished in this country *about a thousand* years before the beginning of our era; and whoever, in so early an age, expects a certain epoch unqualified with *about* or *nearly*, will be greatly disappointed. Hence it is clear, that, whether the fourth age of the *Hindus* began about *one* thousand years before CHRIST, according to GOVERDHAN's account of BUDDHA's birth, or *two* thousand, according to that of RA'DHA'CA'NT, the common opinion, that 4888 years of it are now elapsed, is erroneous; and here for the present we leave BUDDHA, with an intention of returning to him in due time; observing only, that, if the learned *Indians* differ so widely in their accounts of the age, when their ninth *Avatâr* appeared in their country, we may be assured, that they have no certain Chronology before him, and may suspect the certainty of all the relations concerning even *his* appearance.

The received Chronology of the *Hindus* begins with an absurdity so monstrous, as to overthrow the whole system; for, having established their period of *seventy-one divine ages* as the reign of each *Menu*, yet thinking it incongruous to place a holy personage in times of *impurity*, they insist, that the *Menu* reigns only in every *golden age*, and disappears in the *three human ages* that follow it, continuing to dive and emerge, like a waterfowl, till the close of his *Manwantara*: the learned author of the *Purânart'hapracâsa*, which I will now follow step by step, mentioned this ridiculous opinion with a serious face; but, as he has not inserted it in his work, we may take his account of the seventh *Menu* according to its obvious and rational meaning, and suppose, that VAIVASWATA, the son of SU'RYA, the son of CASYAPA, or *Uranus*, the son of MAR'ICHI, or *Light*: the son of BRAHMA', which is clearly an allegorical pedigree, reigned in the last golden age, or, according to the *Hindus*, three million eight hundred and ninety-two thousand eight hundred and eighty-eight years ago. But they contend, that he actually reigned on earth *one million seven hundred and twenty-eight thousand years* of mortals, or *four thousand eight hundred years* of the Gods; and this opinion is another monster so repugnant to the course of nature and to human reason, that it must be rejected as wholly fabulous, and taken as a proof, that the *Indians* know nothing of their *Sun-born MENU*, but his name and the principal event of his life; I mean the *universal deluge*, of which the *three first Avatâr's* are merely allegorical representations, with a mixture, especially in the *second*, of astronomical Mythology.

From this MENU the whole race of men is believed to have descended; for the seven *Rîshî's*, who were preserved with him in the ark, are not mentioned as fathers of human families; but, since his daughter ILA' was married, as the *Indians* tell us, to the first BUDHA, or *Mercury*, the son of CHANDRA, or the *Moon*, a male Deity, whose father was ATRI, son of BRAHMA' (where again we meet with an allegory purely astronomical

astronomical or poetical), his posterity are divided into two great branches, called the *Children of the Sun* from his own supposed father, and the *Children of the Moon*, from the parent of his daughter's husband: the lineal male descendants in both these families are supposed to have reigned in the cities of *Ayódhya*, or *Audh*, and *Pratijishatna*, or *Vitna*, respectively till the *thousandth year of the present age*, and the names of all the princes in both lines having been diligently collected by RAVANA-CA'NT from several *Purāna's*, I exhibit them in two columns arranged by myself with great attention.

SECOND AGE.

CHILDREN OF THE

SUN.	MOON.
ICSHWA'CU,	BUDHA,
<i>Vicucshi,</i>	<i>Pururavas,</i>
Cucutst'ha,	Ayuth,
Anéna,	Nahusha,
5. <i>Prithu,</i>	<i>Yayāti,</i> 5.
Viśwagandhi,	<i>Puru,</i>
Chandra,	Janamejaya,
Yuvanás'wa,	Prachinwat,
Srāva,	Pravira,
10. Vrihadas'wa,	<i>Menasyu,</i> 10.
Dhundhumāra,	Chārūpada,
Drid'hás'wa,	Sudyu,
Heryas'wa,	Bahugava,
Nicumbha,	Sanyāti,
15. Cris'ás'wa,	<i>Ahanyāti,</i> 15.
Sénajit,	Raudrás'wa,
Yuvanás'wa,	Ritēyuth,
Māndhātrī,	Rantināva,
	Purucutsa,

CHILDREN OF THE

SUN.

20. Purucutsa,
Trafadafyu,
Anaranya,
Heryas'wa,
Praruna,
Trivindhana,
25. Satyavrata,
Tris'ancu,
Haris'chandra,
Róhita,
Harita,
30. Champa,
Sudéva,
Vijaya,
Bharuca,
Vřica,
35. Báhuca,
Sagara,
Asamanjas,
Ans'umat,
Bhagírat'ha,
40. Sruta,
Nábha,
Sindhudwípa,
Ayutáyush,
Rítaperna,
45. Saudása,
As'maca,
Múlaca,

MOON.

- Sumati,
Aiti, 20.
Dusbmanta,
Bharata, *
(Vitat'ha,
Manyu,
Vřihatcshétra, 25.
Haſtin,
Ajamid'ha,
Rícsha,
Samwarana,
Curu, 30.
řabnu,
Surat'ha,
Vidúrat'ha,
Sárvabhauma,
Jayatséna, 35.
Rádhiba,
Ayutáyush,
Acródhana,
Dévátit'hi,
Rícsha, 40.
Dilípa,
Pratípa,
Sántanu,
Vichitravírya,
Pándu, 45.
Rudhiřt'hir).

CHILDREN OF THE

SUN.

MOON.

- Das'arat'ha,
 Aíd'abid'i,
 50. Vis'wafaha,
 C'hat'wánga,
 Dírghabáhu,
 Ragbu,
 Aja,
 55. Das'arat'ha,
 RA'MA.

It is agreed among all the *Pandits*, that RA'MA, their *seventh* incarnate Divinity, appeared as king of *Ayódhyá* in the *interval* between the *silver* and the *brazen* ages; and, if we suppose him to have begun his reign at the very beginning of that interval, still *three thousand three hundred* years of the Gods, or *a million one hundred and eighty-eight thousand* lunar years of mortals will remain in the *silver* age, during which the *fifty-five* princes between VAIVASWATA and RA'MA must have governed the world; but, reckoning *thirty* years for a generation, which is rather too much for a long succession of *eldest* sons, as they are said to have been, we cannot, by the course of nature, extend the *second* age of the *Hindus* beyond *sixteen hundred and fifty* solar years: if we suppose them not to have been *eldest* sons, and even to have lived longer than modern princes in a dissolute age, we shall find only a period of *two thousand* years; and, if we remove the difficulty by admitting miracles, we must cease to reason, and may as well believe at once whatever the *Bráhmans* chuse to tell us.

In the *Lunar* pedigree we meet with another absurdity equally fatal to the credit of the *Hindu* system: as far as the twenty-second degree of descent

descent from VAIVASWATA, the synchronism of the two families appears tolerably regular, except that the Children of the Moon were not all *eldest* sons; for king TAYA'TI appointed the youngest of his five sons to succeed him in *India*, and allotted inferior kingdoms to the other four, who had offended him; part of the *Dacshin* or the *South*, to YADU, the ancestor of CRISHNA; the north, to ANU; the east, to DRUHYA; and the west, to TURVASU, from whom the *Pandits* believe, or pretend to believe, in compliment to our nation, that we are descended. But of the subsequent degrees in the lunar line they know so little, that, unable to supply a considerable interval between BHARAT and VITAT'HA, whom they call his son and successor, they are under a necessity of asserting, that the great ancestor of YUDHISHT'HIR actually reigned *seven and twenty thousand years*; a fable of the same class with that of his wonderful birth, which is the subject of a beautiful *Indian Drama*: now, if we suppose his life to have lasted no longer than that of other mortals, and admit VITAT'HA and the rest to have been his regular successors, we shall fall into another absurdity; for then, if the generations in both lines were nearly equal, as they would naturally have been, we shall find YUDHISHT'HIR, who reigned confessedly at the close of the *brazen* age, nine generations older than RA'MA, before whose birth the *silver* age is allowed to have ended. After the name of BHARAT, therefore, I have set an asterisk to denote a considerable chasm in the *Indian History*, and have inserted between brackets, as out of their places, his *twenty-four* successors, who reigned, if at all, in the following age immediately before the war of the *Mahábhárat*. The fourth *Avatár*, which is placed in the interval between the *first* and *second* ages, and the *fifth* which soon followed it, appear to be moral fables grounded on historical facts: the *fourth* was the punishment of an impious monarch by the Deity himself *bursting from a marble Column* in the shape of a *lion*; and the *fifth* was the humiliation of an arrogant Prince by so contemptible an agent as a mendicant *dwarf*. After these, and immediately before

before BUDDHA, come three great warriors all named RAMA; but it may justly be made a question, whether they are not three representations of one person, or three different ways of relating the same History: the first and second RA'MAS are said to have been contemporary; but whether all or any of them mean RAMA, the son of CU'SH, I leave others to determine. The mother of the second RAMA was named CAU'SHALYA', which is a derivative of CUSHALA, and, though his father be distinguished by the title or epithet of DA'SARAT'HA, signifying, that *his War-chariot bore him to all quarters of the world*, yet the name of CUSH, as the *Cashmirians* pronounce it, is preserved entire in that of his son and successor, and shadowed in that of his ancestor VICUSHI; nor can a just objection be made to this opinion from the nasal *Arabian* vowel in the word *Râmab* mentioned by Moses, since the very word *Arab* begins with the same letter, which the *Greeks* and *Indians* could not pronounce; and they were obliged, therefore, to express it by the vowel, which most resembled it. On this question, however, I assert nothing; nor on another, which might be proposed: "whether the *fourth* and *fifth* *Avatàrs* be not allegorical stories of the two pre-sumptuous monarchs, NIMRON and BELUS." The hypothesis, that government was first established, laws enacted, and agriculture encouraged in *India* by RAMA about *three thousand eight hundred* years ago, agrees with the received account of NOAH's death, and the previous settlement of his immediate descendants.

T H I R D A G E.

CHILDREN OF THE

SUN.

Cus'ha,

Atit'hi,

Nishadha,

MOON.

Nabhas,

CHILDREN OF THE

SUN.

- Nabhas,
 5. Pund'aríca,
 Cshémadhanwas,
 Déváníca,
 Ahín'agu,
 Páripátra,
 10. Ranach'hala,
 Vajranábha,
 Arca,
 Sugana,
 Vidhríti,
 15. Hiranyanábha,
 Pufhya,
 Dhruvasandhi,
 Suders'ana,
 Agniverna,
 20. Síghra,
Maru, supposed to be still alive.
 Prasus'ruta,
 Sandhi,
 Amers'ana,
 25. Mahasvat,
 Vis'wabháhu,
 Prasénajit,
 Tacshaca,
 Vribadbahu,
 30. Vrihadran'a, Y. B. C. 3100.

MOON.

- Vitat'ha,
 Manyu,
 Vrihatcshétra,
 Hástin,
 Ajamíd'ha, 5.
 Ricsha,
 Samwarana,
Curu,
Jabnu,
 Surat'ha, 10.
 Vidúrat'ha,
 Sárwabhauma,
 Jayatféna,
 Rád'hica,
 Ayutáyush, 15.
 Acródhana,
 Dévatit'hi,
 Ricsha,
 Dilípa,
 Pratípa, 20.
 Sántanu,
 Vichitravírya,
 Pándu,
Yudhisht'hira,
Paricshit. 25.

Here

Here we have only *nine* and *twenty* princes of the solar line between RA'MA and VRIHADRAHA exclusively; and their reigns, during the whole *brazen* age, are supposed to have lasted near *eight hundred and sixty-four thousand* years, a supposition evidently against nature; the uniform course of which allows only a period of *eight hundred and seventy*, or, at the very utmost, of *a thousand*, years for *twenty-nine* generations. PARI'CSHIT, the great nephew and successor of YUDHISHT'HIR, who had recovered the throne from DURYODHAN, is allowed without controversy to have reigned in the interval between the *brazen* and *earthen* ages, and to have died at the setting in of the *Caliyug*; so that, if the *Pandits* of *Cashmire* and *Vardnes* have made a right calculation of BUDDHA's appearance, the present, or *fourth*, age must have begun about *a thousand* years before the birth of CHRIST, and consequently the reign of ICASHWA'CU, could not have been earlier than *four thousand* years before that great epoch; and even that date will, perhaps, appear, when it shall be strictly examined, to be near *two thousand* years earlier than the truth. I cannot leave the third *Indian* age, in which the virtues and vices of mankind are said to have been equal, without observing, that even the close of it is manifestly fabulous and poetical, with hardly more *appearance* of historical truth, than the tale of *Troy* or of the *Argonauts*; for YUDHISHT'HIR, it seems, was the son of DHERMA, the *Genius of Justice*; BHIMA of PAVAN, or the *God of Wind*; ARJUN of INDRA, or the *Firmament*; NACUL and SAHADIVA, of the two CUMA'RS, the CASTOR and POLLUX of *India*; and BISHMA, their reputed great uncle, was the child of GANGA', or the GANGES, by SANTANU, whose brother DEVAPI is supposed to be still alive in the city of *Calapa*; all which fictions may be charming embellishments of an heroic poem, but are just as absurd in civil History, as the descent of two royal families from the Sun and the Moon.

FOURTH AGE.

CHILDREN OF THE

SUN.

- Urucriya,
 Vatiāvrīddha,
 Prativyóma,
 Bhānu,
 5. Dēváca,
 Sahadéva,
 Vira,
 Vrihadas'wa,
 Bhānumat,
 10. Praticás'wa,
 Supratíca,
 Marudéva,
 Sunacshatra,
 Pushtcara,
 15. Antarściha,
 Sutapas,
 Amitrajit,
 Vrihadrája,
 Barhi,
 20. Crítanjaya,
 Ran'anjaya,
 Sanjaya,
 Slócyā,
 Suddhóda,
 25. Lāngalada,
 Prasénajit,
 Cshudraca,
 Sumitra, Y. B. C. 2100.

MOON.

- Janamējaya,*
Satáníca,
 Sahafráníca,
 As'wamédhaja,
 Asímacrīshna, 5.
 Némichacra,
 Upta,
 Chitrarat'ha,
 Suchirat'ha,
 Dhrītimat, 10.
 Sushéna,
 Sunít'ha,
 Nrīchacshuh,
 Suc'hinala,
 Paríplava, 15.
 Sunaya,
 Médhávin,
 Nrīpanjaya,
 Derva,
 Timi, 20.
 Vrihadrat'ha,
 Sudása,
 Satáníca,
 Durmadana,
 Rahínara, 25.
 Dand'apán'i,
 Nimi,
 Cshémaca.

In both families, we see, *thirty* generations are reckoned from YUDHIST'HIR and from VRIHADBALA his contemporary (who was killed, in the war of *Bhàrat*, by ABHIMANYU, son of ARJUN and father of PARI'CSHIT), to the time, when the *Solar* and *Lunar* dynasties are believed to have become extinct in the present divine age; and for these generations the *Hindus* allot a period of *one thousand* years only, or a *hundred* years for *three* generations; which calculation, though probably too large, is yet moderate enough, compared with their absurd accounts of the preceding ages: but they reckon exactly the same number of years for *twenty* generations only in the family of JARA'SANDHA, whose son was contemporary with YUDHIST'HIR, and founded a new dynasty of princes in *Magadha*, or *Babàr*; and this exact coincidence of the time, in which the three races are supposed to have been extinct, has the appearance of an artificial chronology, formed rather from imagination than from historical evidence; especially as twenty kings, in an age comparatively modern, could not have reigned a thousand years. I, nevertheless, exhibit the list of them as a curiosity; but am far from being convinced, that all of them ever existed: that, if they did exist, they could not have reigned more than *seven hundred* years, I am fully persuaded by the course of nature and the concurrent opinion of mankind.

KINGS OF MAGADHA.

	Sahadéva,	Suchi,	
	Márjári,	Cshéma,	
	Srutafravas,	Suvrata,	
	Ayutáyush,	Dhermasútra,	
5.	Niramitra,	Srama,	15.
	Sunacshatra,	Drīd'haféna,	
	Vrihetséna,	Sumati,	
	Carmajit,	Subala,	
	Srutanjaya,	Suníta,	
10.	Vipra,	Satyajit,	20.
			PURAN-

PURANJAYA, son of the twentieth king, was put to death by his minister SUNACA, who placed his own son PRADYO'TA on the throne of his master; and this revolution constitutes an epoch of the highest importance in our present inquiry; first, because it happened according to the *Bhágawatámrita*, two years exactly before BUDDHA's appearance in the same kingdom; next, because it is believed by the *Hindus* to have taken place *three thousand eight hundred and eighty-eight* years ago, or *two thousand one hundred* years before CHRIST; and lastly, because a regular chronology, according to the number of years in each dynasty, has been established from the accession of PRADYO'TA to the subversion of the genuine *Hindu* government; and that chronology I will now lay before you, after observing only, that RA'DHA'CA'NT himself says nothing of BUDDHA in this part of his work, though he particularly mentions the two preceding *Avatára's* in their proper places.

KINGS OF MAGADHA.

	Y.B.C.
Pradyóta,	2100
Pálaca,	
Vis'ác'hayúpa,	
Rájaca,	
Nandiverdhana, 5 reigns = 138 years,	
Sis'unága,	1962
Cácaverna,	
Cshémadherman,	
Cshétrajnya,	
Vidhisára, 5.	
Ajátasatru,	
Darbhaca,	

KINGS OF MAGADHA.

Y.B.C.

Ajaya,
 Nandiverdhana,
 Mahánandi, 10 r = 360 y.

NANDA, 1602

This prince, of whom frequent mention is made in the *Sanścrit* books, is said to have been murdered, after a reign of *a hundred years*, by a very learned and ingenious, but passionate and vindictive, *Bráhma*n, whose name was CHA'NACYA, and who raised to the throne a man of the *Maurya* race, named CHANDRAGUPTA: by the death of NANDA, and his sons, the *Cśhatriya* family of PRADYO'TA became extinct.

MAURYA KINGS.

Y.B.C.

Chandragupta, 1502
 Várisára,
 As'ócaverdhana,
 Suyas'as,
 Des'arat'ha, 5.
 Sangata,
 Sális'úca,
 Sómas'arman,
 Satadhanwas,
 Vrihadrát'ha, 10 r. = 137 y.

On the death of the tenth *Maurya* king, his place was assumed by his Commander in Chief, PUSHPAMITRA, of the *Sunga* nation or family.

SUNGA

SUNGA KINGS.

	Y.B.C.
Pushpamitra,	1365
Agnimitra,	
Sujyészth'ha,	
Vasumitra,	
Abhadraca, 5.	
Pulinda,	
Ghósha,	
Vajramitra,	
Bhágavata,	
Dévabhúti, 10 $r = 112$ y .	

The last prince was killed by his minister VASUDEVA, of the *Can'n'a* race, who usurped the throne of *Magadha*.

CANNA KINGS.

	Y.B.C.
Vasudéva,	1253
Bhúmitra,	
Náráyana,	
Sufarman, 4 $r = 345$ y .	

A *Súdra*, of the *Andhra* family, having murdered his master SUSARMAN, and seized the government, founded a new dynasty of

ANDHRA KINGS.

	Y.B.C.
Balin,	908
Crishna,	
	Srís'ántacarna,

Srís'ántacarna,	
Paurnamáfa,	
Lambódara,	5.
Vivilaca,	
Méghafwáta,	
Vat'amána,	
Talaca,	
Sivaśwáti,	10.
Puríṣhabhéru,	
Sunandana,	
Chacóracá,	
Bat'aca,	
Gómatin,	15.
Purímat,	
Médaś'iras,	
Siraścand'ha,	
Yajnyaś'rì,	
Vijaya,	20.
Chandrabíja,	21 $r = 456 y.$

After the death of CHANDRABÍJA, which happened, according to the *Hindus*, 396 years before VICRAMA'DITYA, or 452 B.C. we hear no more of *Magadha* as an independent kingdom; but RA'DHA'CA'NT has exhibited the names of *seven* dynasties, in which *seventy-six* princes are said to have reigned *one thousand three hundred and ninety-nine* years in *Avabhríti*, a town of the *Dacṣin*, or *South*, which we commonly call *Decan*: the names of the seven dynasties, or of the families who established them, are *Abbira*, *Gardabhin*, *Canca*, *Yavana*, *Turuśbcara*, *Bburunda*, *Maula*; of which the *Yavana's* are by some, not generally, supposed to have been *Ionians*, or *Greeks*, but the *Turuśbcaras* and *Maula's* are universally believed to have been *Turcs* and *Moguls*; yet RA'DHA'-

CA'NT

CA'NT adds: "when the *Maula* race was extinct, five princes, named "*Bhúnanda*, *Bangira*, *Sis'unandi*, *Yas'ónandi*, and *Pravitraca*, reigned an "*hundred and six* years (or till the year 1053) in the city of *Cilacilà*," which, he tells me, he understands to be in the country of the *Mahá-rájhtra's*, or *Mukráta's*; and here ends his *Indian Chronology*; for "after *PRAVÍ'RACA*, says he, this empire was divided among *Mléch'has*, "or Infidels." This account of the *seven modern dynasties* appears very doubtful in itself, and has no relation to our present inquiry; for their dominion seems confined to the *Decan*, without extending to *Magadha*; nor have we any reason to believe, that a race of *Grecian* princes ever established a kingdom in either of those countries: as to the *Moguls*, their dynasty still subsists, at least nominally; unless that of *Chengiz* be meant, and his successors could not have reigned in any part of *India* for the period of *three hundred* years, which is assigned to the *Maulas*; nor is it probable, that the word *Turc*, which an *Indian* could have easily pronounced and clearly expressed in the *Nágarí* letters, should have been corrupted into *Turushcara*. On the whole we may safely close the most authentick system of *Hindu Chronology*, that I have yet been able to procure, with the death of *CHANDRABI'JA*. Should any farther information be attainable, we shall, perhaps, in due time attain it either from books or inscriptions in the *Sanscrit* language; but from the materials, with which we are at present supplied, we may establish as indubitable the two following propositions; that the *three first* ages of the *Hindus* are chiefly *mythological*, whether their mythology was founded on the dark enigmas of their astronomers or on the heroick fictions of their poets, and, that the *fourth*, or *historical*, age cannot be carried farther back than about two thousand years before *CHRIST*. Even in the history of the present age, the generations of men and the reigns of kings are extended beyond the course of nature, and beyond the average resulting from the accounts of the *Bráhmans* themselves; for they assign to an *hundred and forty-two* modern reigns a period of *three thousand one hundred*

dred and fifty-three years, or about twenty-two years to a reign one with another; yet they represent only four Canva princes on the throne of Magadha for a period of three hundred and forty-five years; now it is even more improbable, that four successive kings should have reigned eighty-six years and four months each, than that NANDA should have been king a hundred years and murdered at last. Neither account can be credited; but, that we may allow the highest probable antiquity to the Hindu government, let us grant, that three generations of men were equal on an average to an hundred years, and that Indian princes have reigned, one with another, two and twenty: then reckoning thirty generations from ARJUN, the brother of YUDHISHT'HIRA, to the extinction of his race, and taking the Chinese account of BUDDHA's birth from M. DE GUIGNES, as the most authentick medium between ABU'LEAZL and the Tibetians, we may arrange the corrected Hindu Chronology according to the following table, supplying the word about or nearly, (since perfect accuracy cannot be attained and ought not to be required), before every date.

	Y.B.C.
Abhimanyu son of ARJUN,	2020
Pradyóta,	1020
BUDDHA,	1027
Nanda,	699
Balin,	149
VICRAMA'DITYA,	56
DE'VAPA'LA, king of Gaur,	23

If we take the date of BUDDHA's appearance from ABU'LEAZL, we must place ABHIMANYU 2368 years before CHRIST, unless we calculate from the twenty kings of Magadha, and allow seven hundred years, instead of a thousand, between ARJUN and PRADYÓTA, which will bring

us again very nearly to the date exhibited in the table ; and, perhaps, we can hardly approach nearer to the truth. As to *Rājā* NANDA, if he really sat on the throne a whole century, we must bring down the *Andhra* dynasty to the age of VICRAMA'DITYA, who with his feudatories had probably obtained so much power during the reign of those princes, that they had little more than a nominal sovereignty, which ended with CHANDRABĪJA in the *third* or *fourth* century of the *Christian* era ; having, no doubt, been long reduced to insignificance by the kings of *Gaur*, descended from GO'PA'LA. But, if the author of the *Dabjān* be warranted in fixing the birth of BUDDHA *ten* years before the *Caliyug*, we must thus correct the Chronological Table :

	Y.B.C.
BUDDHA,	1027
Paricshit,	1017
Pradyót (reckoning 20 or 30 generations), .	317 or 17

	Y.A.C.
Nanda,	13 or 313

This correction would oblige us to place VICRAMA'DITYA before NANDA, to whom, as all the *Pandits* agree, he was long posterior ; and, if this be an historical fact, it seems to confirm the *Bhāgawata-mṛta*, which fixes the beginning of the *Caliyug* about *a thousand* years before BUDDHA ; besides that BALIN would then be brought down at least to the sixth and CHANDRABĪJA to the tenth century after CHRIST, without leaving room for the subsequent dynasties, if they reigned successively.

Thus have we given a sketch of *Indian* History through the longest period fairly assignable to it, and have traced the foundation of the
Indian

Indian empire above *three thousand eight hundred years* from the present time ; but, on a subject in itself so obscure, and so much clouded by the fictions of the *Bráhmans*, who, to aggrandize themselves, have designedly raised their antiquity beyond the truth, we must be satisfied with probable conjecture and just reasoning from the best attainable data ; nor can we hope for a system of *Indian* Chronology, to which no objection can be made, unless the Astronomical books in *Sanscrit* shall clearly ascertain the places of the colures in some precise years of the historical age, not by loose traditions, like that of a coarse observation by CHIRON, who possibly never existed (for “ he lived, says NEWTON, in the *golden* “ age,” which must long have preceded the *Argonautick* expedition), but by such evidence as our astronomers and scholars shall allow to be unexceptionable.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE,

According to one of the HYPOTHESES intimated in the preceding Treat.

CHRISTIAN and MUSELMAN.	HINDU.	Years from 1788 of our era.
ADAM,	MENU I. Age I.	5794
NOAH,	MENU II.	4737
Deluge,		4138
Nimrod,	<i>Hiranyacasipu.</i> Age II.	4006
Bel,	<i>Bali,</i>	3892
RAMA,	RAMA. Age III.	3817
Noah's death,		3787
	<i>Pradyóta,</i>	2817
	BUDDHA. Age IV.	2815
	<i>Nanda,</i>	2487
	<i>Balin,</i>	1937
	<i>Vicramáditya,</i>	1844
	<i>Dévapála,</i>	1811
CHRIST,		1787
	<i>Náráyanpála,</i>	1721
	<i>Saca,</i>	1709
<i>Walid,</i>		1080
<i>Mahmūd,</i>		780
<i>Chengiz,</i>		548
<i>Taimūr,</i>		391
<i>Babur,</i>		276
<i>Nádirsháh,</i>		49

A

SUPPLEMENT TO THE ESSAY

ON

INDIAN CHRONOLOGY.

BY

THE PRESIDENT.

OUR ingenious associate Mr. SAMUEL DAVIS, whom I name with respect and applause, and who will soon, I trust, convince M. BAILLY, that it is very possible, for an *European* to translate and explain the *Súrya Siddhánta*, favoured me lately with a copy, taken by his *Pandit*, of the original passage, mentioned in his paper on the Astronomical Computations of the *Hindus*, concerning the places of the colures in the time of VARA'HIA, compared with their position in the age of a certain *Muni*, or ancient *Indian* philosopher; and the passage appears to afford evidence of two actual observations, which will ascertain the chronology of the *Hindus*, if not by rigorous demonstration, at least by a near approach to it.

The copy of the *Várabíshanbità*, from which the three pages, received by me, had been transcribed, is unhappily so incorrect (if the transcript itself was not hastily made) that every line of it must be disfigured by
some

some gross error; and my *Pandit*, who examined the passage carefully at his own house, gave it up as inexplicable; so that, if I had not studied the system of *Sanscrit* prosody, I should have laid it aside in despair: but though it was written as prose, without any sort of distinction or punctuation, yet, when I read it aloud, my ear caught in some sentences the cadence of verse, and of a particular metre, called *A'ryā*, which is regulated (not by the number of syllables, like other *Indian* measures, but) by the proportion of *times*, or *syllabick moments*, in the four divisions, of which every stanza consists. By numbering those moments and fixing their proportion, I was enabled to restore the text of VARA'HA, with the perfect assent of the learned *Brāhman*, who attends me; and, with his assistance, I also corrected the comment, written by BHATTO'TPALA, who, it seems, was a son of the author, together with three curious passages, which are cited in it. Another *Pandit* afterwards brought me a copy of the whole original work, which confirmed my conjectural emendations, except in two immaterial syllables, and except, that the first of the six couplets in the text is quoted in the commentary from a different work entitled *Panchasiddhāntikā*: five of them were composed by VARA'HA himself, and the third chapter of his treatise begins with them.

Before I produce the original verses, it may be useful to give you an idea of the *A'ryā* measure, which will appear more distinctly in *Latin* than in any modern language of *Europe*:

Tigridas, apros, thoas, tyrannos, pessima monstra, venemur:

Dic hinnulus, dic lepus male quid egerint graminivori.

The couplet might be so arranged, as to begin and end with the cadence of an hexameter and pentameter, six *moments* being interposed in the middle of the long, and seven in that of the short, hemistich:

Thoas,

Thoas, apros, tigridas nos *venemur*, pejoresque tyrannos :
Dic tibi cerva, lepus *tibi dic male quid* egerit herbivorus.

Since the *A'ryà* measure, however, may be almost infinitely varied, the couplet would have a form completely *Roman*, if the proportion of *syllabick instants*, in the long and short verses, were *twenty-four* to *twenty*, instead of *thirty* to *twenty-seven* :

Venor apros tigridasque, et, pessima monstra, tyrannos :
Cerva mali quid agunt herbivorusque lepus ?

I now exhibit the five stanzas of VARA'HA in *European* characters, with an etching of the two first, which are the most important, in the original *Dévanâgarî* :

As'léihárdhāddacshinamuttaramayanañ ravérdhaniṣṭ'hādyañ
Nūnañ cadāchidāsīdyénóctañ pūrva s'astréṣhu.
Sāmpratamayanañ savituh carcat'acādyañ mṛigāditaś'chānyat :
Uctābhāvē vicṛītiḥ pratyacshaperīcshanañ vyaçtiḥ.
Dūraṣṭ'hachihnavēdyādudayé'stamayé'pivā fahaśrāñśōh,
Ch'hāyāpravés'anirgamachihnañvā mandālē mahati.
Aprāpya macaramarcē vinivṛittō hanti śāparāñ yāmyāñ,
Carcat'acamaśāñprāptō vinivṛittas'chóttarāñ saindrīñ.
Uttaramayanamatītya vyāvṛittah cshémas'asya vṛiddhicarah,
Pracṛītiḥ'has'chāpyévañ vicṛītigatir bhayacriduṣhnāñ'suh.

Of the five couplets thus exhibited, the following translation is most scrupulously literal :

“ Certainly the southern solstice was once in the middle of
“ *As'léjhà*, the northern in the first *degree* of *Dhaniṣṭ'hà*, by what is
“ recorded

“ recorded in former *Sâstras*. At present one solstice is in the first de-
 “ gree of *Carcata*, and the other in the first of *Macara*: that which is
 “ recorded, not appearing, a change *must have happened*; and the proof
 “ arises from ocular demonstrations; *that is*, by observing the remote
 “ object and its marks at the rising or setting of the sun, or by the
 “ marks, in a large *graduated* circle, of the shadow’s ingress and egress.
 “ The sun, by turning back without having reached *Macara*, destroys
 “ the south and the west; by turning back without having reached
 “ *Carcata*, the north and east. By returning, when he has just passed
 “ the summer solstitial point, he makes wealth secure and grain abund-
 “ ant, since he moves thus according to nature; but the sun, by mov-
 “ ing unnaturally, excites terror.”

Now the *Hindu* Astronomers agree, that the 1st *January* 1700 was
 in the year 4891 of the *Caliyuga*, or their *fourth* period, at the begin-
 ning of which, they say, the equinoctial points were in the first degrees
 of *Mésha* and *Tulà*; but they are also of opinion, that the vernal equinox
 oscillates from the third of *Mina* to the twenty-seventh of *Mésha* and
 back again in 7200 years, which they divide into four *pâdas*, and conse-
 quently that it moves, in the two intermediate *pâdas*, from the first to
 the twenty-seventh of *Mésha* and back again in 3600 years; the colure
 cutting their ecliptick in the first of *Mésha*, which coincides with the
 first of *Aswinî*, at the beginning of every such oscillatory period. VA-
 RA’HA, surnamed MIHIRA, or the Sun, from his knowledge of astro-
 nomy, and usually distinguished by the title of *Achârya*, or teacher of the
Vêda, lived confessedly, when the *Caliyuga* was far advanced; and, since
 by actual observation he found the solstitial points in the first degrees of
Carcata and *Macara*, the equinoctial points were at the same time in
 the first of *Mésha* and *Tulà*: he lived, therefore, in the year 3600 of
 the fourth *Indian* period, or 1291 years before 1st *January* 1700, that
 is, about the year 499 of our era. This date corresponds with the
ayanânsî,

ayanānśa, or precession, calculated by the rule of the *Sūrya Siddhānta*; for $19^{\circ} 21' 54''$ would be the precession of the equinox in 1291 years according to the *Hindu* computation of $54''$ annually, which gives us the origin of the *Indian Zodiack* nearly; but, by NEWTON's demonstrations, which agree as well with the phenomena, as the varying density of our earth will admit, the equinox recedes about $50''$ every year, and has receded $17^{\circ} 55' 50''$ since the time of VARA'HA, which gives us more nearly in our own sphere the first degree of *Mēṣa* in that of the *Hindus*. By the observation recorded in older *Sāstras*, the equinox had gone back $23^{\circ} 20'$, or about 1680 years had intervened, between the age of the *Muni* and that of the modern astronomer: the former observation, therefore, must have been made about 2971 years before 1st *January* 1790, that is, 1181 before CHRIST.

We come now to the commentary, which contains information of the greatest importance. By former *Sāstras* are meant, says BHATTO'TPALA, the books of PARASARA and of other *Munis*; and he then cites from the *Pārāśari Saṁhitā* the following passage, which is in modulated prose and in a style much resembling that of the *Vēdas*:

Śravīṣṭhādyaṭ pauṣṇārdhāntaṁ charaḥ śis'irò; vaśantah pauṣṇārdhāt rōhinyāntaṁ; śaumyādyādas'lēṣhārdhāntaṁ grīṣmaḥ; prāvṛd'as'lēṣhārdhāt haṣāntaṁ; chitrādyaṭ jy'ēṣṭ'hārdhāntaṁ s'arat; hēmantò jyēṣṭ'hārdhāt vaiṣṇ'avāntaṁ.

“ The season of *Sis'ira* is from the first of *Dhanīṣṭ'hā* to the middle
 “ of *Rēvatī*; that of *Vaśanta* from the middle of *Rēvatī* to the end of
 “ *Rōhinī*; that of *Grīṣma* from the beginning of *Mrīgaś'iras* to the
 “ middle of *As'lēṣhā*; that of *Verṣhā* from the middle of *As'lēṣhā* to the
 “ end of *Ḥaṣṭā*; that of *Sarad* from the first of *Chitrā* to the middle

“ of

“ of *Jyēṣṭhà*; that of *Hémanta* from the middle of *Jyēṣṭhà* to the
 “ end of *Sravanà*.”

This account of the six *Indian* seasons, each of which is co-extensive with two signs, or four lunar stations and a half, places the solstitial points, as VARA'HA has asserted, in the first degree of *Dhanīṣṭhà*, and the middle, or $6^{\circ} 40'$, of *As'vīṣhà*, while the equinoctial points were in the *tenth* degree of *Bharanì* and $3^{\circ} 20'$ of *Viśākhà*; but, in the time of VARA'HA, the solstitial colure passed through the 10th degree of *Punarvasu* and $3^{\circ} 20'$ of *Uttarāṣhārà*, while the equinoctial colure cut the *Hindu* ecliptick in the first of *Aświn* and $6^{\circ} 40'$ of *Chitrà*, or the *Yōga* and only star of that mansion, which, by the way, is indubitably the *Spike* of the Virgin, from the known longitude of which all other points in the *Indian* Zodiack may be computed. It cannot escape notice, that PARA'SARA does not use in this passage the phrase *at present*, which occurs in the text of VARA'HA; so that the places of the colures might have been ascertained *before* his time, and a considerable change might have happened in their true position without any change in the phrases, by which the seasons were distinguished; as our popular language in astronomy remains unaltered, though the Zodiacal asterisms are now removed a whole sign from the places, where they have left their names: it is manifest, nevertheless, that PARA'SARA must have written *within twelve centuries* before the beginning of our era, and that single fact, as we shall presently show, leads to very momentous consequences in regard to the system of *Indian* history and literature.

On the comparison, which might easily be made, between the colures of PARA'SAR and those ascribed by EUDOXUS to CHIRON, the supposed assistant and instructor of the *Argonauts*, I shall say very little; because the whole *Argonautick* story (which neither was, according to HERODOTUS, nor, indeed, could have been, originally *Grecian*), appears, even
 when

when stripped of its poetical and fabulous ornaments, extremely disputable; and, whether it was founded on a league of the *Helladian* princes and states for the purpose of checking, on a favourable opportunity, the overgrown power of *Egypt*, or with a view to secure the commerce of the *Euxine* and appropriate the wealth of *Colchis*, or, as I am disposed to believe, on an emigration from *Africa* and *Asia* of that adventurous race, who had first been established in *Cbaldea*; whatever, in short, gave rise to the fable, which the old poets have so richly embellished, and the old historians have so inconsiderately adopted, it seems to me very clear, even on the principles of NEWTON, and on the same authorities to which he refers, that the voyage of the *Argonauts* must have preceded the year, in which his calculations led him to place it. BATTUS built *Cyrene*, says our great philosopher, on the site of *Irafa*, the city of ANTÆUS, in the year 633 before CHRIST; yet he soon after calls EURIPYLUS, with whom the *Argonauts* had a conference, king of *Cyrene*, and in both passages he cites PINDAR, whom I acknowledge to have been the most learned, as well as the sublimest, of poets. Now, if I understand PINDAR (which I will not assert, and I neither possess nor remember at present the *Scholia*, which I formerly perused) the fourth *Pythian* Ode begins with a short panegyrick on ARCESILAS of *Cyrene*; “Where, says the bard, the priestess, who sat near the golden eagles of Jove, prophesied of old, when APOLLO was not absent from his mansion, that BATTUS, the colonizer of fruitful *Lybia*, having just left the sacred isle (*Thera*), should build a city excelling in cars, on the splendid breast of earth, and, with the seventeenth generation, should refer to himself the *Therean* prediction of MEDEA, which that princess of the *Colchians*, that impetuous daughter of ÆETES, breathed from her immortal mouth, and thus delivered to the half-divine mariners of the warrior JASON.” From this introduction to the noblest and most animated of the *Argonautick* poems, it appears, that *fifteen complete generations* had intervened between the voyage

of JASON and the emigration of BATTUS; so that, considering *three* generations as equal to *an hundred* or *an hundred and twenty* years, which NEWTON admits to be the *Grecian* mode of computing them, we must place that voyage at least *five* or *six hundred* years before the time fixed by NEWTON himself, according to his own computation, for the building of *Cyrene*; that is, *eleven* or *twelve hundred and thirty-three* years before CHRIST; an age very near on a medium to that of PARA'SARA. If the poet means afterwards to say, as I understand him, that ARCESILAS, his contemporary, was the *eighth* in descent from BATTUS, we shall draw nearly the same conclusion, without having recourse to the unnatural reckoning of *thirty-three* or *forty* years to a generation; for PINDAR was forty years old, when the *Persians*, having crossed the *Hellepont*, were nobly resisted at *Thermopylae* and gloriously defeated at *Salamis*: he was born, therefore, about the *sixty-fifth Olympiad*, or five hundred and twenty years before our era; so that, by allowing more naturally *six* or *seven hundred* years to *twenty-three* generations, we may at a medium place the voyage of JASON about one thousand one hundred and seventy years before our Saviour, or about *forty-five* years before the beginning of the *Newtonian* chronology.

The description of the old colures by EUDOXUS, if we implicitly rely on his testimony and that of HIPPARCHUS, who was, indisputably, a great astronomer for the age, in which he lived, affords, I allow, sufficient evidence of some rude observation about 937 years before the *Christian* epoch; and, if the cardinal points had receded from those colures $36^{\circ} 29' 10''$ at the beginning of the year 1690, and $37^{\circ} 52' 30''$ on the first of *January* in the present year, they must have gone back $3^{\circ} 23' 20''$ between the observation implied by PARA'SAR and that recorded by EUDOXUS; or, in other words, 244 years must have elapsed between the two observations: but, this disquisition having little relation to our principal subject, I proceed to the last couplets of our *Indian* astronomer

astronomer VARA'HA MIHIRA, which, though merely astrological and consequently absurd, will give occasion to remarks of no small importance. They imply, that, when the solstices are not in the first degrees of *Carcata* and *Macara*, the motion of the sun is contrary to nature, and being caused, as the commentator intimates, by some *utpāta*, or preternatural agency, must necessarily be productive of misfortune; and this vain idea seems to indicate a very superficial knowledge even of the system, which VARA'HA undertook to explain; but he might have adopted it solely as a religious tenet, on the authority of GARGA, a priest of eminent sanctity, who expresses the same wild notion in the following couplet:

Yadà nivertatè'prāptah fravishtāmutterāyanè,
 Aśléśhān dacsbiné'prāptastadāvidyānmahadbhayan

“ When *the sun* returns, not having reached *Dhanisht'hà* in the
 “ northern solstice, or not having reached *Aśléśhà* in the southern, then
 “ let a man feel great apprehension of danger.”

PARA'SARA himself entertained a similar opinion, that any irregularity in the solstices would indicate approaching calamity: *Yadāprāptò vaiṣṇavāntam*, says he, *udanmārgè prepadyatè, dacsbiné aśléśhām vā mahābhayāya*, that is, “ When, having reached the end of *Sravanà*, in
 “ the northern path, or half of *Aśléśhà* in the southern, he still ad-
 “ vances, it is a cause of great fear.” This notion possibly had its rise, before the regular precession of the cardinal points had been observed; but we may also remark, that some of the lunar mansions were considered as inauspicious, and others as fortunate: thus MENU, the first *Indian* lawgiver, ordains, that certain rites shall be performed under the influence of a happy *Nacshatra*; and, where he forbids any female name to be taken from a constellation, the most learned commentator gives

A'rdrà

Ardrà and *Révatì* as examples of ill omened names, appearing by design to skip over others, that must first have occurred to him. Whether *Dhanisht' bà* and *As'léshà* were inauspicious or prosperous, I have not learned; but, whatever might be the ground of VARA'HA's astrological rule, we may collect from his astronomy, which was grounded on observation, that the solstice had receded *at least* $23^{\circ} 20'$ between his time and that of PARA'SARA; for, though he refers its position to the *signs*, instead of the *lunar mansions*, yet all the *Pandits*, with whom I have conversed on the subject, unanimously assert, that the first degrees of *Mésha* and *Ashwinì* are coincident: since the two ancient sages name only the lunar asterisms, it is probable, that the solar division of the Zodiac into twelve signs was not generally used in their days; and we know from the comment on the *Súrya Siddhánta*, that the lunar month, by which all religious ceremonies are still regulated, was in use before the solar. When M. BAILLY asks, "why the *Hindus* established the beginning of the precession, according to their ideas of it, in the year of "CHRIST 499," to which his calculations also had led him, we answer, because *in that year* the vernal equinox was found by observation in the origin of their ecliptick; and since they were of opinion, that it must have had the same position in the first year of the *Caliyuga*, they were induced by their erroneous theory to fix the beginning of their fourth period 3600 years before the time of VARA'HA, and to account for PARA'SARA's observation by supposing an *utpáta*, or *prodigy*.

To what purpose, it may be asked, have we ascertained the age of the *Munis*? Who was PARA'SARA? Who was GARGA? With whom were they contemporary, or with whose age may theirs be compared? What light will these inquiries throw on the history of *India* or of mankind? I am happy in being able to answer those questions with confidence and precision.

All the *Bráhmens* agree, that only one PARA'SARA is named in their sacred records ; that he composed the astronomical book before-cited, and a law-tract, which is now in my possession ; that he was the grandson of VASISHT'HA, another astronomer and legislator, whose works are still extant, and who was the preceptor of RA'MA, king of *Ayódhyà* ; that he was the father of VYA'SA, by whom the *Védas* were arranged in the form, which they now bear, and whom CRISHNA himself names with exalted praise in the *Gítà* ; so that, by the admission of the *Pandits* themselves, we find only three generations between two of the RA'MAS, whom they consider as incarnate *portions* of the divinity ; and PARA'SAR might have lived till the beginning of the *Caliyuga*, which the mistaken doctrine of an oscillation in the cardinal points has compelled the *Hindus* to place 1920 years too early. This error, added to their fanciful arrangement of the four ages, has been the source of many absurdities ; for they insist, that VA'LMIC, whom they cannot but allow to have been contemporary with RA'MACHANDRA, lived in the age of VYA'SA, who consulted him on the composition of the *Mahábhárat*, and who was personally known to BALARA'MA, the brother of CRISHNA : when a very learned *Bráhmen* had repeated to me an agreeable story of a conversation between VA'LMIC and VYA'SA, I expressed my surprize at an interview between two bards, whose ages were separated by a period of 864,000 years ; but he soon reconciled himself to so monstrous an anachronism, by observing that the longevity of the *Munis* was preternatural, and that no limit could be set to divine power. By the same recourse to miracles or to prophecy, he would have answered another objection equally fatal to his chronological system : it is agreed by all, that the lawyer YA'GYAWALCYA was an attendant on the court of JANACA, whose daughter SI'TA' was the constant, but unfortunate, wife of the great RA'MA, the hero of VA'LMIC's poem ; but that lawyer himself, at the very opening of his work, which now lies before me, names both PARA'SAR and VYA'SA among twenty authors, whose tracts

form

form the body of original *Indian* law. By the way, since VASISHTHA is more than once named in the *Mānavīśāhite*, we may be certain, that the laws ascribed to MENU, in whatever age they might have been first promulgated, could not have received the form, in which we now see them, above *three thousand* years ago. The age and function of GARGA lead to consequences yet more interesting: he was confessedly the *purōhita*, or officiating priest, of CRISHNA himself, who, when only a herdsman's boy at *Mat'burā*, revealed his divine character to GARGA, by running to him with more than mortal benignity on his countenance, when the priest had invoked NA'RA'YAN. His daughter was eminent for her piety and her learning, and the *Brāhmans* admit, without considering the consequence of their admission, that she is thus addressed in the *Vēda* itself: *Yata ūrdhwan nò vā jamōpi*, GA'RGI, *ijha dityò dyāmūrdhvanān tapati, dyà vā bhūmīn tapati, bhūmyā jibhrān tapati, bhūn tapati, antaran tapatyānantaran tapati*; or, "That Sun, O daughter of GARGA, than which nothing is higher, to which nothing is equal, enlightens the summit of the sky; with the sky enlightens the earth; with the earth enlightens the lower worlds; enlightens the higher worlds, enlightens other worlds; it enlightens the breast, enlightens all besides the breast." From these facts, which the *Brāhmans* cannot deny, and from these concessions, which they unanimously make, we may reasonably infer, that, if VYA'SA was not the compiler of the *Vēdas*, he added at least something of his own to the scattered fragments of a more ancient work, or perhaps to the loose traditions, which he had collected; but, whatever be the comparative antiquity of the *Hindu* scriptures, we may safely conclude, that the *Mosaic* and *Indian* chronologies are perfectly consistent; that MENU, son of BRAHMA, was the *A'dima*, or *first*, created mortal, and consequently our ADAM; that MENU, child of the Sun, was preserved with *seven* others, in a *habitra* or capacious ark, from an universal deluge, and must, therefore, be our NOAH; that HIRANYACASIPU, the giant *with a golden axe*, and

and *Pali* or *Bali*, were impious and arrogant monarchs, and, most probably, our NIMROD and BELUS; that the three RA'MAS, two of whom were invincible warriors, and the third, not only valiant in war, but the patron of agriculture and *wine*, which derives an epithet from his name, were different representations of the *Grecian* BACCHUS, and either the RA'MA of Scripture, or his colony personified, or the Sun first adored by his idolatrous family, that a considerable emigration from *Chaldea* into *Greece*, *Italy*, and *India*, happened about *twelve* centuries before the birth of our Saviour; that SA'CYA, or SI'SAK, about two hundred years after VYA'SA, either in person or by a colony from *Egypt*, imported into this country the mild heresy of the ancient *Bauddhas*; and that the dawn of true *Indian* history appears only three or four centuries before the *Christian* era, the preceding ages being clouded by allegory or fable.

As a specimen of that fabling and allegorizing spirit, which has ever induced the *Bráhmens* to disguise their whole system of history, philosophy, and religion, I produce a passage from the *Bhágavat*, which, however strange and ridiculous, is very curious in itself and closely connected with the subject of this essay: it is taken from the fifth *Scandha*, or section, which is written in modulated prose. "There are some, " says the *Indian* author, who, for the purpose of meditating intensely " on the holy son of VASUDE'VA, imagine yon celestial sphere to represent the figure of that aquatick animal, which we call *Sis'umára*: " its head being turned downwards, and its body bent in a circle, they " conceive *Dhruva*, or the pole-star, to be fixed on the point of its " tail; on the middle part of the tail they see four stars, *Prejapati*, " *Agni*, *Indra*, *Dherma*, and on its base two others, *Dháttri* and " *Vidháttri*: on its rump are the *Septarshis*, or seven stars of the *Sacata*, " or *Wain*; on its back the path of the Sun, called *Ajavít'hí*, or the " *Series of Kids*; on its belly the *Gangà* of the sky: *Punarvasu* and " *Pushya*

“ *Puṣṭya* gleam respectively on its right and left haunches ; *Ārdrā* and
 “ *As'lēṣhā* on its right and left feet or fins ; *Abhijit* and *Uttarāṣṭad'hā* in
 “ its right and left nostrils ; *Śravanā* and *Purvāṣṭad'hā* in its right and
 “ left eyes ; *Dhanīṣṭ'hā* and *Mūla* on its right and left ears. Eight con-
 “ stellations, belonging to the summer solstice, *Maghā*, *Pārvap'halgunī*,
 “ *Uttarap'halgunī*, *Haṣṭā*, *Citrā*, *Svātī*, *Vijīc'hā*, *Aburādhā*, may be
 “ conceived in the ribs of its left side ; and as many asterisms, con-
 “ nected with the winter solstice, *Mrigaśīras*, *Rohinī*, *Crittikā*, *Bha-*
 “ *raṇī*, *Aśvinī*, *Révatī*, *Uttarabhadrapadā*, *Pārvabhadrapadā*, may be
 “ imagined on the ribs of its right side in an inverse order : let *Satāb-*
 “ *bīṣhā* and *Jyēṣṭ'hā* be placed on its right and left shoulders. In its
 “ upper jaw is *Agastya*, in its lower *Yama* ; in its mouth the planet
 “ *Mangalā* ; in its part of generation, *Samai'schara* ; on its hump, *Trī-*
 “ *baṣpati* ; in its breast, the Sun ; in its heart, *Nārāyaṇ* ; in its front
 “ the moon ; in its navel, *Uś'anas* ; on its two nipples the two *Aśvīnas* ;
 “ in its ascending and descending breaths, *Budha* ; on its throat, *Rāhu* ;
 “ in all its limbs, *Cétus*, or comets ; and in its hairs, or bristles, the
 “ whole multitude of stars.” It is necessary to remark, that, although
 the *śiśumāra* be generally described as the *sea-hog*, or *porpoise*, which
 we frequently have seen playing in the *Ganges*, yet *śiśumār*, which seems
 derived from the *Sanskrit*, means in *Persian* a large *lizard* : the passage
 just exhibited may nevertheless relate to an animal of the cetaceous
 order, and possibly to the dolphin of the ancients. Before I leave the
 sphere of the *Hindus*, I cannot help mentioning a singular fact : in the
Sanskrit language *Ricsha* means a *constellation* and a *bear*, so that *Ama-*
haricsha may denote either a *great bear* or a *great asterism*. Etymologists
 may, perhaps, derive the *Megas arctos* of the *Greeks* from an *Indian*
 compound ill understood ; but I will only observe, with the wild *Ame-*
rican, that a bear with a very long tail could never have occurred to the
 imagination of any one, who had seen the animal. I may be permitted
 to add, on the subject of the *Indian Zodiac*, that, if I have erred, in a
 former

former essay, where the longitude of the lunar mansions is computed from the first star in our constellation of the Ram, I have been led into error by the very learned and ingenious M. BAILLY, who relied, I presume, on the authority of M. LE GENTIL : the origin of the *Hindu* Zodiac, according to the *Sûrya Siddhânta*, must be nearly γ $19^{\circ} 21' 54''$, in our sphere, and the longitude of *Chitrâ*, or the Spike, must of course be $199^{\circ} 21' 54''$ from the vernal equinox ; but, since it is difficult by that computation, to arrange the twenty-seven mansions and their several stars, as they are delineated and enumerated in the *Retnamâlâ*, I must for the present suppose with M. BAILLY, that the *Zodiac* of the *Hindus* had two origins, one constant and the other variable ; and a farther inquiry into the subject must be reserved for a season of retirement and leisure.

NOTE
TO
MR. VANSITTART'S PAPER

ON
THE AFGHANS BEING DESCENDED FROM THE JEWS.

BY THE PRESIDENT.

THIS account of the *Afghàns* may lead to a very interesting discovery. We learn from ESDRAS, that the Ten Tribes, after a wandering journey, came to a country called *Arfareth*; where, we may suppose, they settled: now the *Afghàns* are said by the best *Persian* historians to be descended from the *Jews*; they have traditions among themselves of such a descent; and it is even asserted, that their families are distinguished by the names of *Jewish* tribes, although, since their conversion to the *Islâm*, they studiously conceal their origin; the *Pushto* language, of which I have seen a dictionary, has a manifest resemblance to the *Chaldaick*; and a considerable district under their dominion is called *Hazàreh*, or *Hazdret*, which might easily have been changed into the word used by ESDRAS. I strongly recommend an inquiry into the literature and history of the *Afghàns*.

ON
THE ANTIQUITY
OF
THE INDIAN ZODIACK.

BY THE PRESIDENT.

I ENGAGE to support an opinion (which the learned and industrious M. MONTUCLA seems to treat with extreme contempt), that the *Indian* division of the Zodiack was not borrowed from the *Greeks* or *Arabs*, but, having been known in this country from time immemorial, and being the same in part with that used by other nations of the old *Hindu* race, was probably invented by the first progenitors of that race before their dispersion. “The *Indians*, he says, have two divisions of the “Zodiack; one, like that of the *Arabs*, relating to the moon, and consisting of *twenty-seven* equal parts, by which they can tell very nearly “the hour of the night; another relating to the sun, and, like ours, containing twelve signs, to which they have given as many names corresponding with those, which we have borrowed from the *Greeks*.” All that is true; but he adds: “It is highly probable that they received “them at some time or another by the intervention of the *Arabs*; for “no man, surely, can persuade himself, that it is the ancient division of “the Zodiack formed, according to some authors, by the forefathers of “mankind and still preserved among the *Hindus*.” Now I undertake
to

to prove, that the *Indian* Zodiack was not borrowed mediately or directly from the *Arabs* or *Greeks*; and, since the solar division of it in *India* is the same in substance with that used in *Greece*, we may reasonably conclude, that both *Greeks* and *Hindus* received it from an older nation, who first gave names to the luminaries of heaven, and from whom both *Greeks* and *Hindus*, as their similarity in language and religion fully evinces, had a common descent.

The same writer afterwards intimates, that “the time, when *Indian* Astronomy received its most considerable improvement, from which it has now, as he imagines, wholly declined, was either the age, when the *Arabs*, who established themselves in *Persia* and *Sogdiana*, had a great intercourse with the *Hindus*, or that, when the successors of CHENGIZ united both *Arabs* and *Hindus* under one vast dominion.” It is not the object of this essay, to correct the historical errors in the passage last-cited, nor to defend the astronomers of *India* from the charge of gross ignorance in regard to the figure of the earth and the distances of the heavenly bodies; a charge, which MONTUCLA very boldly makes on the authority, I believe, of father SOUVER: I will only remark, that, in our conversations with the *Pandits*, we must never confound the system of the *Jyautishikas*, or mathematical astronomers, with that of the *Pauránicas*, or poetical fabulists; for to such a confusion alone must we impute the many mistakes of *Europeans* on the subject of *Indian* science. A venerable mathematician of this province, named RA'MACHANDRA, now in his eightieth year, visited me lately at *Crishnanagar*, and part of his discourse was so applicable to the inquiries, which I was then making, that, as soon as he left me, I committed it to writing. “The *Pauránics*, he said, will tell you, that our earth is a plane figure studded with eight mountains, and surrounded by seven seas of milk, nectar, and other fluids; that the part, which we inhabit, is one of seven islands, to which eleven smaller isles are subor-

“dinate;

“dinate; that a God, riding on a huge *elephant*, guards each of the
 “eight regions; and that a mountain of gold rises and gleams in the
 “centre; but we believe the earth to be shaped like a *Cadamba* fruit,
 “or spheroidal, and admit only four oceans of salt water, all which we
 “name from the four cardinal points, and in which are many great
 “peninsulas with innumerable islands: they will tell you, that a
 “dragon’s head swallows the moon, and thus causes an eclipse; but we
 “know, that the supposed head and tail of the dragon mean only the
 “nodes, or points formed by intersections of the ecliptick and the
 “moon’s orbit; in short, they have imagined a system, which exists
 “only in their fancy; but we consider nothing as true without such
 “evidence as cannot be questioned.” I could not perfectly understand
 the old Gymnosophist, when he told me, that the *Rásichakra* or *Circle*
of Signs (for so he called the Zodiack) was like a *Dhustúra* flower;
 meaning the *Datura*, to which the *Sanscrit* name has been softened, and
 the flower of which is conical or shaped like a funnel: at first I thought,
 that he alluded to a projection of the hemisphere on the plane of the
 ecliptic, and to the angle formed by the ecliptick and equator; but a
 younger astronomer named VINA’YACA, who came afterwards to see
 me, assured me that they meant only the circular mouth of the funnel,
 or the base of the cone, and that it was usual among their ancient
 writers, to borrow from fruits and flowers their appellations of several
 plane and solid figures.

From the two *Bráhmans*, whom I have just named, I learned the fol-
 lowing curious particulars; and you may depend on my accuracy in re-
 peating them, since I wrote them in their presence, and corrected what
 I had written, till they pronounced it perfect. They divide a great
 circle, as we do, into three hundred and sixty degrees, called by them
ansas or *portions*; of which they, like us, allot thirty to each of the
 twelve signs in this order:

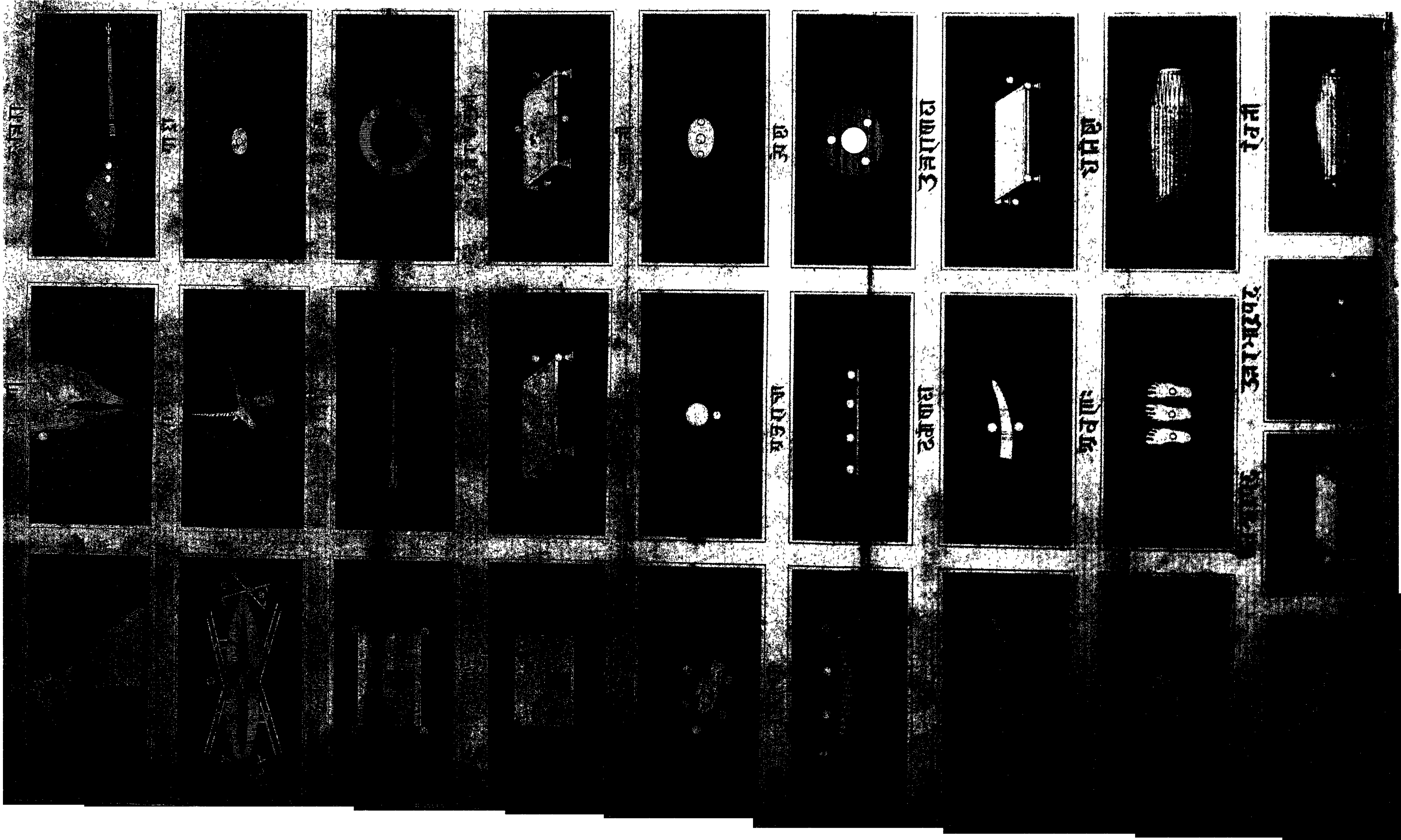
Mésha,

<i>Mésha</i> , the Ram.	<i>Tulā</i> , the Balance.
<i>Vṛṣha</i> , the Bull.	8. <i>Vṛṣkēṭhica</i> , the Scorpion.
<i>Mit'huna</i> , the Pair.	<i>Dhanus</i> , the Bow.
4. <i>Carcat'i</i> , the Crab.	<i>Macara</i> , the Sea-Monster.
<i>Sinba</i> , the Lion.	<i>Cumbha</i> , the Ewer.
<i>Canyā</i> , the Virgin.	12. <i>Mīna</i> , the Fish.

The figures of the twelve asterisms, thus denominated with respect to the sun, are specified, by SRI'PĒTĪ, author of the *Retnamālā*, in *Sanskrit* verses; which I produce, as my vouchers, in the original with a verbal translation :

Méshādayo náma samánarūpī,
 Vínagadād'nyam mit'hunam nrīyugmam,
 Pradīpas'asyē dadhatī carābhayām
 Nāvi st'hita vārinī canyacaiva.
 Tulā tulābhrit pretimānapānir
 Dhanur dhanuṣmān hayawat parāṅgah,
 Mrīgānanah syān macaró't'ha cumbhah
 Scandhé neró rictaghat'am dadhānah,
 Anyanyapuchch'hābhimuc'hó hi mīnah
 Matsyadwayam swast'halachārinómī.

“ The *ram*, *bull*, *crab*, *lion*, and *scorpion*, have the figures of those five
 “ animals respectively: the *pair* are a damsel playing on a *Vinā* and a
 “ youth wielding a mace: the *virgin* stands on a boat in water, holding
 “ in one hand a lamp, in the other an ear of ricecorn: the *balance* is
 “ held by a weigher with a weight in one hand: the *bow*, by an archer,
 “ whose hinder parts are like those of a horse: the *sea-monster* has the
 “ face of an antelope: the *ewer* is a waterpot borne on the shoulder of
 “ a man, who carries it: the *fish* are two with their heads turned to
 “ each



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“each others tails; and all these are supposed to be in such places as
“suit their several natures.”

To each of the *twenty-seven* lunar stations, which they call *nacshatras*, they allow thirteen *ansas* and one third, or *thirteen degrees twenty minutes*; and their names appear in the order of the signs, but without any regard to the figures of them:

<i>As'winì.</i>	<i>Maghà.</i>	<i>Múla.</i>
<i>Bharanì.</i>	<i>Púrva p'halgunì.</i>	<i>Púrváshád'ha'.</i>
<i>Críticà.</i>	<i>Uttara p'halgunì.</i>	<i>Uttaráshád'hà.</i>
<i>Róhiní.</i>	<i>Hafta.</i>	<i>Sravanà.</i>
<i>Mrígashíras.</i>	<i>Chitrà.</i>	<i>Dhanisht'à.</i>
<i>A'rdrà.</i>	<i>Swatì.</i>	<i>Satabhishà.</i>
<i>Punarvasu.</i>	<i>Vishúc'hà.</i>	<i>Púrva bhadrapadá.</i>
<i>Pushya.</i>	<i>Anurádhà.</i>	<i>Uttarabhadrapadá.</i>
9. <i>As'léshà.</i>	18. <i>Jyeshth'hà.</i>	27. <i>Révati.</i>

Between the twenty-first and twenty-second constellations, we find in the plate three stars called *Abhijit*; but they are the last quarter of the asterism immediately preceding, or the latter *Ashar*, as the word is commonly pronounced. A complete revolution of the moon, with respect to the stars, being made in twenty-seven days, odd hours, minutes and seconds, and perfect exactness being either not attained by the *Hindus* or not required by them, they fixed on the number twenty-seven, and inserted *Abhijit* for some astrological purpose in their nuptial ceremonies. The drawing, from which the plate was engraved, seems intended to represent the figures of the twenty-seven constellations, together with *Abhijit*, as they are described in three stanzas by the author of the *Retnamala*:

1. Turagamuc'hafadrīcsham yónirúpam cshurábham,
 Sacat'afamam at'hain'afyóttamángéna tulyam,
 Man'igrīhas'ara chacrábhání s'álópamam bham,
 Sayanafadrīs'amanyachchátra paryancarúpam.
2. Haftácárayutam cha mauṭicasamam
 chányat praválopamam,
 Dhrīshyam tórana sannibham balinibham,
 fatcund'alábham param ;
 Crudhyatcéfarivicraména fadrīs'an,
 s'ayyásamánam param,
 Anyad dentivilásavat ft'hitamatah
 s'rīngát'acavyaṭti bham.
3. Trivicramábham cha mrīdangarúpam,
 Vṛittam tatónyadyamalábhwayábham,
 Paryancarúpam murajánucáram,
 Ityévam as'wádibhachacararúpam.

“ A horse's head; *yóni* or *bhaga*; a razor; a wheeled carriage; the
 “ head of an antelope; a gem; a house; an arrow; a wheel; another
 “ house; a bedstead; another bedstead; a hand; a pearl; a piece of
 “ coral; a festoon of leaves; an oblation to the Gods; a rich ear-ring;
 “ the tail of a fierce lion; a couch; the tooth of a wanton elephant,
 “ near which is the kernel of the *s'rīngátaca* nut; the three footsteps
 “ of VISHNU; a tabor; a circular jewel; a two-faced image; another
 “ couch; and a smaller sort of tabor: such are the figures of *Aśvinī*
 “ and the rest in the circle of lunar constellations.”

The *Hindu* draughtsman has very ill represented most of the figures;
 and he has transposed the two *Aśháras* as well as the two *Bhadrapads*;
 but his figure of *Abhijit*, which looks like our ace of hearts, has a re-
 semblance to the kernel of the *trapa*, a curious water-plant described in
 a separate

a separate essay. In another *Sanſcrit* book the figures of the ſame conſtellations are thus varied :

A horſe's head.	A ſtraight tail.	A conch.
<i>Yóni</i> or <i>bhaga</i> .	Two ſtars S. to N.	A winnowing fan.
A flame.	Two, N. to S.	Another.
A waggon.	A hand.	An arrow.
A cat's paw.	A pearl.	A tabor.
One bright ſtar.	Red ſaffron.	A circle of ſtars.
A bow.	A feſtoon.	A ſtaff for burdens.
A child's pencil.	A ſnake.	The beam of a balance.
9. A dog's tail.	18. A boar's head.	27. A fiſh.

From twelve of the aſterifms juſt enumerated are derived the names of the twelve *Indian* months in the uſual form of patronymicks ; for the *Paurānics*, who reduce all nature to a ſyſtem of emblematical mythology, ſuppoſe a celeſtial nymph to preſide over each of the conſtellations, and feign that the God So'MA, or *Lunus*, having wedded twelve of them, became the father of twelve *Genii*, or months, who are named after their ſeveral mothers ; but the *Jyauṭiſhicas* aſſert, that, when their lunar year was arranged by former aſtronomers, the moon was at the full in each month on the very day, when it entered the *nacſhatra*, from which that month is denominated. The manner, in which the derivatives are formed, will beſt appear by a compariſon of the months with their ſeveral conſtellations :

A's'wina.	Chaitra.
Cártica.	8. Vaiſác'ha.
Márgas'írhā.	Jyaiſht'ha.
4. Pauſha.	A'ſhāra.
Mágha.	Srávana.
P'hálguna.	12. Bhádra.

The third month is also called *A'grabáyana* (whence the common word *Agran* is corrupted) from another name of *Mr̥gas'iras*.

Nothing can be more ingenious than the memorial verses, in which the *Hindus* have a custom of linking together a number of ideas otherwise unconnected, and of chaining, as it were, the memory by a regular measure: thus by putting *teeth* for thirty-two, *Rudra* for eleven, *season* for six, *arrow* or *element* for five, *ocean*, *Vēda*, or *age*, for four, *RA'MA*, *fire*, or *quality* for three, *eye*, or *CUMA'RA* for two, and *earth* or *moon* for one, they have composed four lines, which express the number of stars in each of the twenty-seven asterisms.

Vahni tri r̥itwīṣṭhu gunēndu critāgnibhūta,
 Bānās'winētra s'ara bhūcu yugabdhī rāmāh,
 Rudrābdirāmāgunavēdas'atā dwiyugma,
 Dentā budhairabhihitāh cramas'ó bhatārāh.

That is: "three, three, six; five, three, one; four, three, five;
 " five, two, two; five, one, one; four, four, three; eleven, four and
 " three; three, four, a hundred; two, two, thirty-two: thus have the
 " stars of the lunar constellations, in order as they appear, been num-
 " bered by the wise."

If the stanza was correctly repeated to me, the *two Aśvārās* are considered as one asterism, and *Abhijit* as three separate stars; but I suspect an error in the third line, because *dwibāna* or *two and five* would suit the metre as well as *bdbirāma*; and because there were only three *Vēdas* in the early age, when, it is probable, the stars were enumerated and the technical verse composed.

Two lunar stations, or *mansions*, and a quarter are co-extensive, we see, with one sign; and nine stations correspond with four signs: by counting,

counting, therefore, thirteen degrees and twenty minutes from the first star in the head of the Ram, inclusively, we find the whole extent of *Aświn*, and shall be able to ascertain the other stars with sufficient accuracy; but first let us exhibit a comparative table of both *Zodiacks*, denoting the mansions, as in the *Vārāṇas* almanack, by the first letters or syllables of their names:

MONTHS.	SOLAR ASTERISMS.	MANSIONS.
Aświn	Mésh	$A + bh + \frac{c}{4}$
Cártic	Vriśh	$\frac{3c}{4} + rð + \frac{M}{2}$
A'graháyan	Mit'hun	$\frac{M}{2} + á + \frac{3P}{4}$
Paush	Carcat' 4.	$\frac{P}{4} + p + s'l. 9.$
Mágh	Sinh	$m + PU + \frac{U}{4}$
P'hálgun	Canya	$\frac{3U}{4} + h + \frac{ch}{2}$
Chaitr	Tulà	$\frac{ch}{2} + s + \frac{3v}{4}$
Vaiśác'h	Vriśchic 8.	$\frac{v}{4} + a + j 18.$
Jaiśht'h	Dhan	$mú + pù + \frac{n}{4}$
A'shár	Macar	$\frac{3v}{4} + S + \frac{dh}{2}$
Srávan	Cumbh	$\frac{dh}{2} + s' + \frac{3pá}{4}$
Bhádr	Mín 12.	$\frac{pá}{4} + u + r. 27.$

Hence we may readily know the stars in each mansion, as they follow in order:

LUNAR MANSIONS.	SOLAR ASTERISMS.	STARS.
Aświní.	Ram.	<i>Three</i> , in and near the head.
Bharaní.	—	<i>Three</i> , in the tail.
Críticà.	Bull.	<i>Six</i> , of the Pleiads.
Róhiní.	—	<i>Five</i> , in the head and neck.
Mrīgafiras.	Pair.	{ <i>Three</i> , in or near the feet. perhaps in the Galaxy.
A'rdrà.	—	<i>One</i> , on the knee.
Punarvafu.	—	{ <i>Four</i> , in the heads, breast and shoulder.
Puśhya.	Crab.	<i>Three</i> , in the body and claws.
As'léśhà.	Lion.	<i>Five</i> , in the face and mane.
Maghà.	—	<i>Five</i> , in the leg and haunch.
Púrvap'halgunì.	—	<i>Two</i> ; one in the tail.
Uttarap'halgunì.	Virgin.	<i>Two</i> , on the arm and zone.
Haṣṭa.	—	<i>Five</i> , near the hand.
Chitrà.	—	<i>One</i> , in the spike.
Swáti.	Balance.	<i>One</i> , in the N. Scale.
Viś'ác'hà.	—	<i>Four</i> , beyond it.
Anurádhà.	Scorpion.	<i>Four</i> , in the body.
Jyéśht'hà.	—	<i>Three</i> , in the tail.
Múla.	Bow.	{ <i>Eleven</i> , to the point of the arrow.
Púrváśhára.	—	<i>Two</i> , in the leg.
Uttaráśhára.	Sea-monster.	<i>Two</i> , in the horn.
Sravanà.	—	<i>Three</i> , in the tail.
Dhanīśht'à.	Ewer.	<i>Four</i> , in the arm.
Satabhiśhà.	—	<i>Many</i> , in the stream.
Púryabhadrapadà.	Fish.	<i>Two</i> , in the first fish.
Uttarabhadrapadà.	—	<i>Two</i> , in the cord.
Révati.	—	{ <i>Thirty-two</i> , in the second fish and cord.

Wherever

Wherever the *Indian* drawing differs from the memorial verse in the *Retnamâlâ*, I have preferred the authority of the writer to that of the painter, who has drawn some terrestrial things with so little similitude, that we must not implicitly rely on his representation of objects merely celestial: he seems particularly to have erred in the stars of *Dhanishthâ*.

For the assistance of those, who may be inclined to re-examine the twenty-seven constellations with a chart before them, I subjoin a table of the degrees, to which the *nacshatras* extend respectively from the first star in the asterism of *Aries*, which we now see near the beginning of the sign *Taurus*, as it was placed in the ancient sphere.

N.	D.	M.	N.	D.	M.	N.	D.	M.
I.	13°.	20'.	X.	133°.	20'.	XIX.	253°.	20'.
II.	26°.	40'.	XI.	146°.	40'.	XX.	266°.	40'.
III.	40°.	0'.	XII.	160°.	0'.	XXI.	280°.	0'.
IV.	53°.	20'.	XIII.	173°.	20'.	XXII.	293°.	20'.
V.	66°.	40'.	XIV.	186°.	40'.	XXIII.	306°.	40'.
VI.	80°.	0'.	XV.	200°.	0'.	XXIV.	320°.	0'.
VII.	93°.	20'.	XVI.	213°.	20'.	XXV.	333°.	20'.
VIII.	106°.	40'.	XVII.	226°.	40'.	XXVI.	346°.	40'.
IX.	120°.	0'.	XVIII.	240°.	0'.	XXVII.	360°.	0'.

The asterisms of the *first* column are in the signs of *Taurus*, *Gemini*, *Cancer*, *Leo*; those of the *second*, in *Virgo*, *Libra*, *Scorpio*, *Sagittarius*; and those of the *third*, in *Capricornus*, *Aquarius*, *Pisces*, *Aries*: we cannot err much, therefore, in any series of *three* constellations; for, by counting 13° 20' forwards and backwards, we find the spaces occupied by the two extremes, and the intermediate space belongs of course to the middlemost. It is not meant, that the division of the *Hindu* Zodiac into such spaces is exact to a minute, or that *every* star of each asterism

asterism must necessarily be found in the space to which it belongs ; but the computation will be accurate enough for our purpose, and no lunar mansion can be very remote from the path of the moon : how FATHER SOUCIET could dream, that *Vijñāḥ* was in the Northern Crown, I can hardly comprehend ; but it surpasses all comprehension, that M. BAILLY should copy his dream, and give reasons to support it ; especially as four stars, arranged pretty much like those in the *Indian* figure, present themselves obviously near the balance or the scorpion. I have not the boldness to exhibit the individual stars in each mansion, distinguished in BAYER's method by Greek letters ; because, though I have little doubt, that the five stars of *Aślāḥ*, in the form of a wheel, are η , γ , ζ , μ , ϵ , of the Lion, and those of *Mūla*, γ , δ , ζ , ϕ , π , ν , ϵ , ξ , π , of the *Sagittary*, and though I think many of the others equally clear, yet, where the number of stars in a mansion is less than three, or even than four, it is not easy to fix on them with confidence ; and I must wait, until some young *Hindu* astronomer, with a good memory and good eyes, can attend my leisure on serene nights at the proper seasons, to point out in the firmament itself the several stars of all the constellations, for which he can find names in the *Sanskrit* language : the only stars, except those in the *Zodiac*, that have yet been distinctly named to me, are the *Septarshi*, *Dhruva*, *Arundhati*, *Vijñāḥ*, *Mātrimaṇḍal*, and, in the southern hemisphere, *Agastya*, or *Canopus*. The twenty-seven *Yōga* stars, indeed, have particular names, in the order of the *nacshatras*, to which they belong ; and since we learn, that the *Hindus* have determined the latitude, longitude, and right ascension of each, it might be useful to exhibit the list of them : but at present I can only subjoin the names of twenty-seven *Yōgas*, or divisions of the *Ecliptick*.

Vijñāmbha.

Ganda.

Parigba.

Priti.

Vridhbi.

Siva.

A'yushmat.

<i>Āyushmat.</i>	<i>Dbruva.</i>	<i>Siddha.</i>
<i>Saubhāgya.</i>	<i>Vyāghāta.</i>	<i>Sādhyā.</i>
<i>Sōbhana.</i>	<i>Herṣana.</i>	<i>Subha.</i>
<i>Atiganda.</i>	<i>Vajra.</i>	<i>Sucra.</i>
<i>Sucarman.</i>	<i>Aśrij.</i>	<i>Brāhman.</i>
<i>Dbrīti.</i>	<i>Vyatipāta.</i>	<i>Indra.</i>
<i>Sāla.</i>	<i>Vartyas.</i>	<i>Vaidbrīti.</i>

Having shown in what manner the *Hindus* arrange the *Zodiacal* stars with respect to the sun and moon, let us proceed to our principal subject, *the antiquity of that double arrangement*. In the first place, the *Brāhman*s were always too proud to borrow their science from the *Greeks*, *Arabs*, *Moguls*, or any nation of *Mlēcch'has*, as they call those, who are ignorant of the *Vēdas*, and have not studied the language of the Gods: they have often repeated to me the fragment of an old verse, which they now use proverbially, *na nichò yavandtparab*, or *no base creature can be lower than a Yavan*; by which name they formerly meant an *Ionian* or *Greek*, and now mean a *Mogul*, or, generally, a *Muselman*. When I mentioned to different *Pandits*, at several times and in several places, the opinion of MONTUCLA, they could not prevail on themselves to oppose it by serious argument; but some laughed heartily; others, with a sarcastick smile, said it was a *pleasant imagination*; and all seemed to think it a notion bordering on phrensy. In fact, although the figures of the twelve *Indian* signs bear a wonderful resemblance to those of the *Grecian*, yet they are too much varied for a mere copy, and the nature of the variation proves them to be original; nor is the resemblance more extraordinary than that, which has often been observed, between our *Gothick* days of the week and those of the *Hindus*, which are dedicated to the same luminaries, and (what is yet more singular) revolve in the same order: *Ravi*, the Sun; *Sōma*, the Moon; *Mangala*, *Tuifco*; *Budha*, *Woden*; *Vrihaspati*, *Thor*; *Sucra*,

Freya ; *Sani*, Sater ; yet no man ever imagined, that the *Indians* borrowed so remarkable an arrangement from the *Goths* or *Germans*. On the planets I will only observe, that SUCRA, the regent of *Venus*, is, like all the rest, a *male* deity, named also USANAS, and believed to be a sage of infinite learning ; but ZOHRAH, the NA'HI'D of the *Persians*, is a goddess like the FREYA of our *Saxon* progenitors : the drawing, therefore, of the planets, which was brought into *Bengal* by Mr. JOHNSON, relates to the *Persian* system, and represents the genii supposed to preside over them, exactly as they are described by the poet HA'TIFI' :

“ He bedecked the firmament with stars, and ennobled this earth with
 “ the race of men ; he gently turned the auspicious new moon of the
 “ festival, like a bright jewel, round the ankle of the sky ; he placed
 “ the *Hindu* SATURN on the seat of that restive elephant, the revolving
 “ sphere, and put the rainbow into his hand, as a hook to coerce the
 “ intoxicated beast ; he made filken strings of sun-beams for the lute
 “ of VENUS ; and presented JUPITER, who saw the felicity of true
 “ religion, with a rosary of clustering Pleiads. The bow of the sky
 “ became that of MARS, when he was honoured with the command of
 “ the celestial host ; for GOD conferred sovereignty on the Sun, and
 “ squadrons of stars were his army.”

The names and forms of the lunar constellations, especially of *Blazarani* and *Abhijit*, indicate a simplicity of manners peculiar to an ancient people ; and they differ entirely from those of the *Arabian* system, in which the very first asterism appears in the dual number, because it consists only of two stars. *Menzil*, or *the place of alighting*, properly signifies a *station* or *stage*, and thence is used for an ordinary day's journey ; and that idea seems better applied than *mansion* to so incessant a traveller as the moon : the *menzilu'l kamar*, or *lunar stages*, of the *Arabs* have *twenty-eight* names in the following order, the particle *al* being understood before every word :

Sharatàn.

Sharatàn.	Nathrah.	Ghafr.	Dhábih'.
Bu'tain.	Tarf.	Zubáníyah.	Bulaâ.
Thurayyà.	Jabhah.	Iclîl.	Suûd.
Debaràn.	Zubrah.	Kalb.	Akhbíya.
Hakâah.	Sarfah.	Shaulah.	Mukdim.
Hanâah.	Awwà.	Naâim.	Múkhir.
7. Dhiráâ.	14. Simàc.	21. Beldah.	28. Rishà.

Now, if we can trust the *Arabian* lexicographers, the number of stars in their several *menzils* rarely agrees with those of the *Indians*; and two such nations must naturally have observed, and might naturally have named, the principal stars, near which the moon passes in the course of each day, without any communication on the subject: there is no evidence, indeed, of a communication between the *Hindus* and *Arabs* on any subject of literature or science; for, though we have reason to believe, that a commercial intercourse subsisted in very early times between *Yemen* and the western coast of *India*, yet the *Bráhmans*, who alone are permitted to read the six *Védangas*, one of which is the astronomical *Sástra*, were not then commercial, and, most probably, neither could nor would have conversed with *Arabian* merchants. The hostile irruption of the *Arabs* into *Hindustán*, in the eighth century, and that of the *Moguls* under CHENGÍZ, in the thirteenth, were not likely to change the astronomical system of the *Hindus*; but the supposed consequences of *modern* revolutions are out of the question; for, if any historical records be true, we know with as positive certainty, that AMARSINH and CA'LIDA's composed their works before the birth of CHRIST, as that MENANDER and TERENCE wrote before that important epoch: now the twelve *signs* and twenty-seven *mansions* are mentioned, by the several names before exhibited, in a *Sanscrit* vocabulary by the first of those *Indian* authors, and the second of them frequently alludes to *Róbiní* and the rest by name in his *Fatal Ring*, his *Children of the Sun*, and his *Birth* of CUMA'RA; from which poem I
produce

produce two lines, that my evidence may not seem to be collected from mere conversation :

Maitrè muhúrtè s'as'alánc'h'hanéna,
Yógam gatáfúttarap'halganíthu.

“ When the stars of *Uttarap'halgun* had joined in a fortunate hour
“ the fawn-spotted moon.”

This testimony being decisive against the conjecture of M. MONTUCLA, I need not urge the great antiquity of MENU'S Institutes, in which the twenty-seven asterisms are called the daughters of DACHSHA and the consorts of SO'MA, or the Moon, nor rely on the testimony of the *Bráhmans*, who assure me with one voice, that the names of the *Zodiacal* stars occur in the *Védas* ; three of which I firmly believe, from internal and external evidence, to be more than *three thousand* years old. Having therefore proved what I engaged to prove, I will close my essay with a general observation. The result of NEWTON'S researches into the history of the primitive sphere was, “ that the practice of observing
“ the stars began in *Egypt* in the days of AMMON, and was propagated
“ thence by conquest in the reign of his son SISAC, into *Africk, Europe,*
“ and *Asia* ; since which time ATLAS formed the sphere of the *Lybians* ;
“ CHIRON, that of the *Greeks* ; and the *Chaldeans*, a sphere of their
“ own : ” now I hope, on some other occasions, to satisfy the publick, as I have perfectly satisfied myself, that “ the practice of observing the
“ stars began, with the rudiments of civil society, in the country of
“ those, whom we call *Chaldeans* ; from which it was propagated into
“ *Egypt, India, Greece, Italy,* and *Scandinavia*, before the reign of
“ SISAC or SA'CYA, who by conquest spread a new system of reli-
“ gion and philosophy from the *Nile* to the *Ganges* about a thousand
“ years before CHRIST ; but that CHIRON and ATLAS were allego-
“ rical or mythological personages, and ought to have no place in the
“ serious history of our species.”

ON

THE LITERATURE OF THE HINDUS,

FROM THE SANSKRIT.

Communicated by GOVERDHAN CAUL, translated, with a short Commentary.

BY

THE PRESIDENT.

THE TEXT.

THERE are eighteen *Vidyâ's*, or parts of *true Knowledge*, and some branches of Knowledge *falsely so called*; of both which a short account shall here be exhibited.

The first *four* are the immortal *Vêda's* evidently revealed by God; which are entitled, in one compound word, *Rigyajuhśāmât'barva*, or, in separate words, *Rich*, *Yajush*, *Sāman*, and *At'barvan*: the *Rigvêda* consists of *five* sections; the *Yajurvêda*, of *eighty-six*; the *Sāmavêda*, of a *thousand*; and the *At'barvavêda*, of *nine*; with eleven hundred *s'ac'ba's*, or Branches, in various divisions and subdivisions. The *Vêda's* in truth are infinite; but were reduced by VYA'SA to this number and order: the principal part of them is that, which explains the Duties of Man in a methodical arrangement; and in the *fourth* is a system of divine ordinances.

From these are deduced the four *Upavêdas*, namely, *Ayush*, *Gândharva*, *Dhanush*, and *St'hâpatya*; the first of which, or *Ayurvêda*, was delivered

delivered to mankind by BRAHMA', INDRA, DHANWANTARI, and *five* other Deities; and comprizes the theory of Disorders and Medicines, with the practical methods of curing Diseases. The second, or Mutick, was invented and explained by BHARATA: it is chiefly useful in raising the mind by devotion to the felicity of the Divine nature. The third *Upavéda* was composed by VISWAMITRA on the fabrication and use of arms and implements handled in war by the tribe of *Cshatriya's*. VIS'WACARMAN revealed the *fourth* in various treatises on *sixty-four* Mechanical Arts, for the improvement of such as exercise them.

Six *Anga's*, or *Bodies* of Learning, are also derived from the same source: their names are, *Sicshà*, *Galpa*, *Vyácarana*, *Gh'bandas*, *Jyótish*, and *Niruçti*. The *first* was written by PA'NINI, an inspired Saint, on the *pronunciation* of vocal sounds; the *second* contains a detail of religious acts and ceremonies from the first to the last; and from the branches of these works a variety of rules have been framed by A'S'WALA'YANA, and others: the *third*, or the Grammar, entitled *Pán'iniya*, consisting of *eight* lectures or chapters (*Vriddbiradaj*, and so forth), was the production of three *Rishis*, or holy men, and teaches the proper discriminations of words in construction; but other less abstruse Grammars, compiled merely for popular use, are not considered as *Anga's*: the *fourth*, or *Profody*, was taught by a *Muni*, named PINGALA, and treats of charms and incantations in verses aptly framed and variously measured; such as the *Gáyatri*, and a thousand others. *Astronomy* is the *fifth* of the *Védanga's*, as it was delivered by SU'RYA, and other divine persons: it is necessary in calculations of time. The *sixth*, or *Niruçti*, was composed by YA'SCA (so is the manuscript; but, perhaps, it should be VYA'SA) on the signification of difficult words and phrases in the *Véda's*.

Lastly, there are four *Upánga's*, called *Purána*, *Nyáya*, *Mimánsà*, and *Dherma s'dstra*. Eighteen *Purána's*, that of BRAHMA, and the rest,

rest, were composed by VYA'SA for the instruction and entertainment of mankind in general. *Nyáya* is derived from the root *ní*, to *acquire* or *apprehend*; and, in this sense, the books on *apprehension*, *reasoning*, and *judgement*, are called *Nyáya*: the principal of these are the work of GAUTAMA in *five* chapters, and that of CANA'DA in *ten*; both teaching the meaning of sacred texts, the difference between just and unjust, right and wrong, and the principles of knowledge, all arranged under *twenty-three* heads. *Mimánsà* is also *two-fold*; both showing what acts are pure or impure, what objects are to be desired or avoided, and by what means the soul may ascend to the First Principle: the *former*, or *Carma Mimánsà*, comprized in *twelve* chapters, was written by JAIMINI, and discusses questions of moral Duties and Law; next follows the *Upáśaná Cānda* in four lectures (*Sancarshana* and the rest), containing a survey of Religious Duties; to which part belong the rules of SA'NDILYA, and others, on devotion and duty to God. Such are the contents of the *Pūrva*, or *former*, *Mimánsà*. The *Uttara*, or *latter*, abounding in questions on the Divine Nature and other sublime speculations, was composed by VYA'SA, in *four* chapters and *sixteen* sections: it may be considered as the brain and spring of all the *Anga's*; it exposes the heretical opinions of RA'MA'NUJA, MA'DHWA, VALLABHA, and other Sophists; and, in a manner suited to the comprehension of adepts, it treats on the true nature of GANÉ'SA, BHA'SCARA, or the Sun, NÍ'LACANTA, LAC'SHMI', and other *forms* of One Divine Being. A similar work was written by S'RI' S'ANCARA, demonstrating the Supreme Power, Goodness, and Eternity of God.

The Body of *Law*, called *Smṛiti*, consists of *eighteen* books, each divided under three general heads, the duties of *religion*, the administration of *justice*, and the punishment or *expiation* of crimes: they were delivered, for the instruction of the human species, by MĒNU, and other sacred personages.

As to *Etbicks*, the *Véda's* contain all that relates to the duties of Kings; the *Purána's*, what belongs to the relation of husband and wife; and the duties of friendship and society (which complete the triple division) are taught succinctly in both: this double division of *Anga's* and *Upánga's* may be considered as denoting the double benefit arising from them in *theory* and *practice*.

The *Bhárata* and *Rámáyana*, which are both *Epic Poems*, comprize the most valuable part of ancient History.

For the information of the lower classes in religious knowledge, the *Páśúpata*, the *Pancharáttra*, and other works, fit for nightly meditation, were composed by ŚIVA, and others, in an hundred and ninety-two parts on different subjects.

What follow are not really divine, but contain infinite contradictions. *Sánc'hya* is twofold, that with IS'WARA and that without IS'WARA: the former is intitled *Pátanjali* in one chapter of four sections, and is useful in removing doubts by pious contemplation; the second, or *Cápila*, is in six chapters on the production of all things by the union of PRACRITI, or *Nature*, and PURUSHA, or the *First Male*: it comprizes also, in eight parts, rules for devotion, thoughts on the invilible power, and other topicks. Both these works contain a studied and accurate enumeration of natural bodies and their principles; whence this philosophy is named *Sánc'hya*. Others hold, that it was so called from its *reckoning three sorts of pain*.

The *Mimánsà*, therefore, is in *two* parts; the *Nyáya*, in *two*; and the *Sánc'hya*, in *two*; and these *six* Schools comprehend all the doctrine of the Theists.

Last of all appears a work written by BUDDHA ; and there are also six Atheistical systems of Philosophy, entitled *Yógachára*, *Saundhánta*, *Vaibhásbica*, *Mádhyamica*, *Digambara*, and *Chárvac*; all full of indeterminate phrases, errors in sense, confusion between distinct qualities, incomprehensible notions, opinions not duly weighed, tenets destructive of natural equality, containing a jumble of Atheism and Ethicks ; distributed, like our Orthodox books, into a number of sections, which omit what ought to be expressed, and express what ought to be omitted ; abounding in false propositions, idle propositions, impertinent propositions : some assert, that the heterodox Schools have no *Upánga's* ; others, that they have six *Anga's*, and as many *Sánga's*, or *Bodies* and other *Appendices*.

Such is the analysis of universal knowledge, *Practical* and *Speculative*.

THE COMMENTARY.

This first chapter of a rare *Sanscrit* Book, entitled *Vidyádersa*, or a *View of Learning*, is written in so close and concise a style, that some parts of it are very obscure, and the whole requires an explanation. From the beginning of it we learn, that the *Véda's* are considered by the *Hindus* as the fountain of all knowledge human and divine ; whence the verses of them are said in the *Gítà* to be the *leaves* of that holy tree, to which the Almighty Himself is compared :

*árdbwa mûlam adbab s'ac'ham as'watt'ham práburavyayam
ch'bandáni yasya pernáni yastam véda sa védavit.*

“ The wise have called the Incorruptible One an *As'watt'ba* with its
“ roots above and its branches below ; the leaves of which are the
“ sacred measures : he, who knows this tree, knows the *Véda's*.”

All the *Pandits* insist, that *As'watt'ba* means the *Pippala*, or *Religious Fig-tree* with heart-shaped pointed and tremulous leaves; but the comparison of heavenly knowledge, descending and taking root on earth, to the *Vat'a*, or great *Indian Fig-tree*, which has most conspicuously its roots on high, or at least has radicating branches, would have been far more exact and striking.

The *Véda's* consists of three *Cán'd'a's* or *General Heads*; namely, *Carma*, *Jnyána*, *Upásaná*, or *Works*, *Faith*, and *Worship*; to the first of which the Author of the *Vidyádersa* wisely gives the preference, as *MENU* himself prefers *universal benevolence* to the *ceremonies* of religion:

Japyénaiva tu sanjiddhyèdbráhmaṇo nátra sanjayah :
Curyádanyatravá curyánmaitró bráhmaṇa uchyaè.

that is: "By silent adoration undoubtedly a *Bráhmaṇ* attains holiness; but every *benevolent man*, whether he perform or omit that ceremony, "is justly styled a *Bráhmaṇ*." This triple division of the *Véda's* may seem at first to throw light on a very obscure line in the *Gita*:

Traigunyawishayah védà nistraigunya bhavárjuna

or, "The *Véda's* are attended with *three* qualities: be not thou a man of *three* qualities, O *ARJUNA*."

But several *Pandits* are of opinion, that the phrase must relate to the three *guna's*, or *qualities* of the mind, that of *excellence*, that of *passion*, and that of *darkness*; from the last of which a Hero should be wholly exempt, though examples of it occur in the *Véda's*, where animals are ordered to be *sacrificed*, and where horrid incantations are inserted for the *destruction* of enemies.

It is extremely singular, as Mr. WILKINS has already observed, that, notwithstanding the fable of BRAHMA's *four* mouths, each of which uttered a *Véda*, yet most ancient writers mention only *three Véda's*, in order as they occur in the compound word *Rigyajukṣāma*; whence it is inferred, that the *At'harvan* was written or collected after the three first; and the two following arguments, which are entirely new, will strongly confirm this inference. In the eleventh book of MENU, a work ascribed to the *first* age of mankind, and certainly of high antiquity, the *At'harvan* is mentioned by name, and styled the *Véda* of *Véda's*; a phrase, which countenances the notion of DA'RA' SHECU'H, who asserts, in the preface to his *Upanishat*, that “the *three* first *Védas* are named “separately, because the *At'harvan* is a corollary from them all, and “contains the quintessence of them.” But this verse of MENU, which occurs in a modern copy of the work brought from *Bándras*, and which would support the antiquity and excellence of the *fourth Véda*, is entirely omitted in the best copies, and particularly in a very fine one written at *Gayá*, where it was accurately collated by a learned *Bráhmaṇ*; so that, as MENU himself in other places names only three *Véda's*, we must believe this line to be an interpolation by some admirer of the *At'harvan*; and such an artifice overthrows the very doctrine, which it was intended to sustain.

The next argument is yet stronger, since it arises from *internal* evidence; and of this we are now enabled to judge by the noble zeal of Colonel POLIER in collecting *Indian* curiosities; which has been so judiciously applied and so happily exerted, that he now possesses a complete copy of the *four Védas* in eleven large volumes.

On a cursory inspection of those books it appears, that even a learner of *Sanscrit* may read a considerable part of the *At'harvaveda* without a dictionary; but that the style of the other *three* is so obsolete, as to seem almost

almost a different dialect: when we are informed, therefore, that few *Brāhman*s at *Bánáras* can understand any part of the *Véda*'s, we must presume, that none are meant, but the *Rich*, *Yajush*, and *Sáman*, with an exception of the *At'harvan*, the language of which is comparatively modern; as the learned will perceive from the following specimen:

*Yatra brāhmarvidò yānti dicshayà tapasà fāba agnirmāntatra nayatwagnir-
mēdbān dedhātumē, agnayē fīwābhā. vāyurmān tatra nayatu vōyub prānān
dedhātu mē, vāyuvē fīwābhā. sūryò mān tatra nayatu chachuk sūryò dedhātu
mē, sūryāya fīwābhā; chāndrò mān tatra nayatu manajchāndrò dedhātu mē,
chāndrāya fīwābhā. sōmò mān tatra nayatu payab sōmò dedhātu mē, sōmāya
fīwābhā. Indrò mān tatra nayatu bulamindrò dedhātu mē, indrāya fīwābhā.
āpò mān tatra nayatwāmṛitamōpatijhātu, adbhyaḥ fīwābhā. yatra brāh-
marvidò yānti dicshayà tapasà fāba, brāhmā mān tatra nayatu brāhma brāh-
mā dedhātu mē, brāhmanē fīwābhā.*

that is, "Where they, who know the Great One, go, through holy
" rites and through piety, thither may *fire* raise me! May fire receive
" my sacrifices! Mysterious praise to fire! May *air* waft me thither!
" May air increase my spirits! Mysterious praise to air! May the *Sun*
" draw me thither! May the sun enlighten my eye! Mysterious praise
" to the sun! May the *Moon* bear me thither! May the moon receive
" my mind! Mysterious praise to the moon! May the plant *Sōma* lead
" me thither! May *Sōma* bestow on me its hallowed milk! Mysterious
" praise to *Sōma*! May *INDRA*, or the *firmament*, carry me thither!
" May *INDRA* give me strength! Mysterious praise to *INDRA*! May
" *water* bear me thither! May water bring me the stream of immorta-
" lity! Mysterious praise to the waters! Where they, who know the
" Great One, go, through holy rites and through piety, thither may
" *BRAHMA*' conduct me! May *BRAHMA*' lead me to the Great One!
" Mysterious praise to *BRAHMA*!"

Several

Several other passages might have been cited from the first book of the *At'harvan*, particularly a tremendous *incantation* with consecrated *grafs*, called *Darbbha*, and a sublime Hymn to *Cála*, or time; but a single passage will suffice to show the style and language of this extraordinary work. It would not be so easy to produce a genuine extract from the other *Véda's*: indeed, in a book, entitled *Sivavédánta*, written in *Sanfrit*, but in *Cáshmirian* letters, a stanza from the *Yajurvéda* is introduced; which deserves for its sublimity to be quoted here; though the regular cadence of the verses, and the polished elegance of the language, cannot but induce a suspicion, that it is a more modern paraphrase of some text in the ancient Scripture:

*natatra súryò bháti nacha chandra táracau, néma vidyutò bhánti cuta éva
vahnib: taméva bhántam anubbáti servam, tasya bháśá servamidam vibhāti.*

that is, “There the sun shines not, nor the moon and stars: these light-
“ nings flash not *in that place*; how should even fire blaze *there*? God
“ irradiates all this bright substance; and by its effulgence the universe
“ is enlightened.”

After all, the books on divine *Knowledge*, called *Véda*, or what is *known*, and *Srutí*, or what has been *heard*, from revelation, are still supposed to be very numerous; and the *four* here mentioned are thought to have been selected, as containing all the information necessary for man. MOHSANI FA'NI', the very candid and ingenious author of the *Dabíssán*, describes in his first chapter a race of old *Persian* sages, who appear from the whole of his account to have been *Hindus*; and we cannot doubt, that the book of MAHA'BA'D, or MENU, which was written, he says, *in a celestial dialect*, means the *Véda*; so that, as ZERA'TUSHT was only a reformer, we find in *India* the true source of the ancient *Persian* religion. To this head belong the numerous
Tantra,

Tantra, *Mantra*, *Agama*, and *Nigama*, *Sástra's*, which consist of *incantations* and other texts of the *Védas*, with remarks on the occasions, on which they may be successfully applied. It must not be omitted, that the *Commentaries* on the *Hindu* Scriptures, among which that of *VASISHTHA* seems to be reputed the most excellent, are innumerable; but, while we have access to the fountains, we need not waste our time in tracing the rivulets.

From the *Védas* are immediately deduced the practical arts of *Chirurgery* and *Medicine*, *Musick* and *Dancing*, *Archery*, which comprizes the whole art of war, and *Architecture*, under which the system of *Mechanical* arts is included. According to the *Pandits*, who instructed *ABU'LFAZL*, each of the *four* Scriptures gave rise to one of the *Upavéda's*, or *Sub-scriptures*, in the order in which they have been mentioned; but this exactness of analogy seems to favour of refinement.

Infinite advantage may be derived by *Europeans* from the various *Medical* books in *Sanscrit*, which contain the names and descriptions of *Indian* plants and minerals, with their uses, discovered by experience, in curing disorders: there is a vast collection of them from the *Cheraca*, which is considered as a work of *SIVA*, to the *Róganirúpana* and the *Nidána*, which are comparatively modern. A number of books, in prose and verse, have been written on *Musick*, with specimens of *Hindu* airs in a very elegant notation; but the *Silpa s'ástra*, or *Body of Treatises* on *Mechanical arts*, is believed to be lost.

Next in order to these are the six *Védānga's*, three of which belong to *Grammar*; one relates to religious ceremonies; a fifth to the whole compass of *Mathematicks*, in which the author of *Líláwati* was esteemed the most skilful man of his time; and the *sixth*, to the explanation
of

of obscure words or phrases in the *Védas*. The grammatical work of PA'NINI, a writer supposed to have been inspired, is entitled *Siddhānta Caumudi*, and is so abstruse, as to require the lucubrations of many years, before it can be perfectly understood. When Cás'inát'ba Serman, who attended Mr. WILKINS, was asked what he thought of the *Pāniniya*, he answered very expressively, that "it was a forest;" but, since Grammar is only an instrument, not the end, of true knowledge, there can be little occasion to travel over so rough and gloomy a path; which contains, however, probably some acute speculations in *Metaphysics*. The *Sanscrit* Prosody is easy and beautiful: the learned will find in it almost all the measures of the *Greeks*; and it is remarkable, that the language of the *Bráhmans* runs very naturally into *Sapphicks*, *Alcaicks*, and *Iambicks*. Astronomical works in this language are exceedingly numerous: seventy-nine of them are specified in one list; and, if they contain the names of the principal stars visible in *India*, with observations on their positions in different ages, what discoveries may be made in Science, and what certainty attained in ancient Chronology?

Subordinate to these *Anga's* (though the reason of the arrangement is not obvious) are the series of *Sacred Poems*, the *Body of Law*, and the *six Philosophical Sāstra's*; which the author of our text reduces to *two*, each consisting of *two* parts, and rejects a *third*, in *two* parts also, as not perfectly *orthodox*, that is, not strictly conformable to his own principles.

The first *Indian Poet* was VA'LMÍ'CI, author of the *Rámáyana*, a complete *Epick Poem* on one continued, interesting, and heroick, action; and the next in celebrity, if it be not superior in reputation for holiness, was the *Mahábhárata* of VYA'SA: to him are ascribed the sacred *Purána's*, which are called, for their excellence, *the Eighteen*,
and

and which have the following titles: BRAHME, or the *Great One*, PEDMA, or the *Lotos*, BRA'HMA'ND'A, or the *Mundane Egg*, and AGNI, or *Fire* (these *four* relate to the *Creation*), VISHNU, or the *Per-vader*, GARUD'A, or his *Eagle*, the Transformations of BRAHMA', SIVA, LINGA, NA'REDA, son of BRAHMA', SCANDA son of SIVA, MARCANDE'YA, or the Immortal Man, and BHAWISHYA, or the *Prediction of Futurity* (these *nine* belong to the *attributes* and *powers* of the Deity), and *four* others, MATSYA, VARA'HA, CU'RMA, VA'MENA, or as many incarnations of the Great One in his character of *Preserver*; all containing ancient traditions embellished by poetry or disguised by fable: the *eighteenth* is the BHA'GAWATA, or Life of CRISHNA, with which the same Poet is by some imagined to have crowned the whole series; though others, with more reason, assign them different composers.

The system of *Hindu Law*, besides the fine work, called MENU-SMRITI, or "what is *remembered* from MENU," that of YA'JNYA-WALCYA, and those of *sixteen* other *Muni's*, with *Commentaries* on them all, consists of many tracts in high estimation, among which those current in *Bengal* are, an excellent treatise on *Inheritances* by JIMU'TA VA'HANA, and a complete *Digest*, in *twenty-seven* volumes, compiled a few centuries ago by RAGHUNANDAN, the TRIBONIAN of *India*, whose work is the grand repository of all that can be known on a subject so curious in itself, and so interesting to the *British Government*.

Of the Philosophical Schools it will be sufficient here to remark, that the first *Nyāya* seems analogous to the *Peripatetick*, the *second*, sometimes called *Vaiśhika*, to the *Ionick*, the two *Mīmāṃsā's*, of which the *second* is often distinguished by the name of *Vēdānta*, to the *Platonick*, the first *Sāṅkhya* to the *Italick*, and the *second*, or *Pātanjala*, to the *Stoick*, Philosophy; so that GAUTAMA corresponds with ARISTOTLE; CANA'DA, with THALES; JAIMINI with SOCRATES; VYA'SA with PLATO;

PLATO; CAPILA with PYTHAGORAS; and PATANJALI with ZENO; but an accurate comparison between the *Grecian* and *Indian* Schools would require a considerable volume. The original works of those Philosophers are very succinct; but, like all the other *Sástras*, they are explained, or obscured, by the *Upaderšana* or *Commentaries* without end: one of the finest compositions on the Philosophy of the *Védánta* is entitled *Yóga Vásisht'ba*, and contains the instructions of the great VASISHTHA to his pupil, RA'MA, king of *Ayódhyà*.

It results from this analysis of *Hindu* Literature, that the *Véda*, *Upavéda*, *Védānga*, *Purāna*, *Dharma*, and *Ders'ana* are the *Six* great *Sástras*, in which all knowledge, divine and human, is supposed to be comprehended; and here we must not forget, that the word *Sástra*, derived from a root signifying *to ordain*, means generally an *Ordinance*, and particularly a *Sacred Ordinance* delivered by inspiration: properly, therefore, this word is applied only to *sacred literature*, of which the text exhibits an accurate sketch.

The *Súdra's*, or *fourth* class of *Hindus*, are not permitted to study the *six* proper *Sástra's* before-enumerated; but an ample field remains for them in the study of *profane literature*, comprized in a multitude of *popular* books, which correspond with the several *Sástra's*, and abound with beauties of every kind. All the tracts on *Medicine* must, indeed be studied by the *Vaidya's*, or those, who are born Physicians; and they have often more learning, with far less pride, than any of the *Bráhmans*: they are usually Poets, Grammarians, Rhetoricians, Moralists; and may be esteemed in general the most virtuous and amiable of the *Hindus*. Instead of the *Véda's* they study the *Rájaniti*, or *Instruction of Princes*, and instead of *Law*, the *Nitiśástra*, or general system of *Ethicks*: their *Sabita*, or *Cávyá Sástra*, consists of innumerable poems, written chiefly by the *Medical* tribe, and supplying the place of the *Purāna's*,

since they contain all the stories of the *Rámáyana*, *Bhárata*, and *Bhágawata*: they have access to many treatises of *Alancára*, or Rhetorick, with a variety of works in modulated prose; to *Upádehyána*, or Civil History, called also *Rájatarangini*; to the *Nátana*, which answers to the *Gándharvavéda*, consisting of regular *Dramatick* pieces in *Sanscrit* and *Prácrit*: besides which they commonly get by heart some entire Dictionary and Grammar. The best Lexicon or Vocabulary was composed in verse, for the assistance of the memory, by the illustrious AMARASINHA; but there are *seventeen* others in great repute: the best Grammar is the *Mugdhabódha*, or the *Beauty of Knowledge*, written by Góswami, named VO'PADE'VA, and comprehending, in two hundred short pages, all that a learner of the language can have occasion to know. To the *Cósha's*, or dictionaries, are usually annexed very ample *Tíca's*, or *Etymological Commentaries*.

We need say no more of the heterodox writings, than that those on the religion and philosophy of BUDDHA seem to be connected with some of the most curious parts of *Asiatick History*, and contain, perhaps, all that could be found in the *Páli*, or *sacred language* of the Eastern *Indian* peninsula. It is asserted in *Bengal*, that AMARASINHA himself was a *Bauddha*; but he seems to have been a theist of tolerant principles, and, like ABU'LFAZL, desirous of reconciling the different religions of *India*.

Wherever we direct our attention to *Hindu Literature*, the notion of *infinity* presents itself; and the longest life would not be sufficient for the perusal of near five hundred thousand stanzas in the *Purána's*, with a million more perhaps in the other works before mentioned: we may, however, select the best from each *Sástra*, and gather the fruits of science, without loading ourselves with the leaves and branches; while we have the pleasure to find, that the learned *Hindus*, encouraged by the

the mildness of our government and manners, are at least as eager to communicate their knowledge of all kinds, as we can be to receive it. Since *Europeans* are indebted to the *Dutch* for almost all they know of *Arabick*, and to the *French* for all they know of *Chinese*, let them now receive from our nation the first accurate knowledge of *Sanscrit*, and of the valuable works composed in it; but, if they wish to form a correct idea of *Indian* religion and literature, let them begin with forgetting all that has been written on the subject, by ancients or moderns, before the publication of the *Gîtâ*.



ON
THE SECOND CLASSICAL BOOK
OF THE CHINESE.

BY
THE PRESIDENT.

THE vicinity of *China* to our *Indian* territories, from the capital of which there are not more than *six hundred miles* to the province of YU'NA'N, must necessarily draw our attention to that most ancient and wonderful Empire, even if we had no commercial intercourse with its more distant and maritime provinces; and the benefits, that might be derived from a more intimate connexion with a nation long famed for their useful arts and for the valuable productions of their country, are too apparent to require any proof or illustration. My own inclinations and the course of my studies lead me rather to consider at present their *laws, politicks, and morals*, with which their general literature is closely blended, than their manufactures and trade; nor will I spare either pains or expense to procure translations of their most approved *law-tracts*; that I may return to *Europe* with distinct ideas, drawn from the fountain-head, of the wisest *Asiatick* legislation. It will probably be a long time before accurate returns can be made to my inquiries concerning the *Chinese Laws*; and, in the interval, the Society will not, perhaps, be displeased to know, that a translation of a most venerable and excellent work may be expected from *Canton* through the kind assistance of an inestimable correspondent.

According

According to a *Chinese* Writer, named LI YANG PING, ‘the ancient characters used in his country were the outlines of visible objects earthly and celestial; but, as things merely intellectual could not be expressed by those figures, the grammarians of *China* contrived to represent the various operations of the mind by metaphors drawn from the productions of nature: thus the idea of roughness and of rotundity, of motion and rest, were conveyed to the eye by signs representing a mountain, the sky, a river and the earth; the figures of the sun, the moon, and the stars, differently combined, stood for smoothness and splendour, for any thing artfully wrought, or woven with delicate workmanship; extension, growth, increase, and many other qualities were painted in characters taken from clouds, from the firmament, and from the vegetable part of the creation; the different ways of moving, agility and slowness, idleness and diligence, were expressed by various insects, birds, fish, and quadrupeds: in this manner passions and sentiments were traced by the pencil, and ideas not subject to any sense were exhibited to the sight; until by degrees new combinations were invented, new expressions added; the characters deviated imperceptibly from their primitive shape, and the *Chinese* language became not only clear and forcible, but rich and elegant in the highest degree.’

In this language, so ancient and so wonderfully composed, are a multitude of books abounding in useful, as well as agreeable, knowledge; but the highest class consists of *Five* works; one of which at least every *Chinese*, who aspires to literary honours, must read again and again, until he possess it perfectly.

The *first* is purely *Historical*, containing annals of the empire from the *two-thousand-three-hundred-thirty-seventh* year before CHRIST: it is entitled SHU'KING, and a version of it has been published in *France*; to which country we are indebted for the most authentick and most valuable

able specimens of *Chinese* History and Literature, from the compositions, which preceded those of HOMER, to the poetical works of the present Emperor, who seems to be a man of the brightest genius and the most amiable affections. We may smile, if we please, at the levity of the *French*, as they laugh without scruple at our seriousness; but let us not so far undervalue our rivals in arts and in arms, as to deny them their just commendation, or to relax our efforts in that noble struggle, by which alone we can preserve our own eminence.

The Second Classical work of the *Chinese* contains *three hundred* Odes, or short Poems, in praise of ancient sovereigns and legislators, or descriptive of ancient manners, and recommending an imitation of them in the discharge of all publick and domestick duties: they abound in wise maxims, and excellent precepts, 'their whole doctrine, according to ' *Can-ju-tsu*, in the LU' NYU' or *Moral Discourses*, being reducible to ' this grand rule, that we should not even entertain a thought of any ' thing base or culpable;' but the copies of the SHU' KING, for that is the title of the book, are supposed to have been much disfigured, since the time of that great Philosopher, by spurious passages and exceptionable interpolations; and the style of the Poems is in some parts too metaphorical, while the brevity of other parts renders them obscure; though many think even this obscurity sublime and venerable, like that of ancient cloysters and temples, ' *Shedding*, as MILTON expresses it, *a dim religious ' light.*' There is another passage in the LU' NYU', which deserves to be set down at length: ' Why, my sons, do you not study the book of ' Odes? If we creep on the ground, if we lie useless and inglorious, ' those poems will raise us to true glory: in them we see, as in a mirror, ' what may best become us, and what will be unbecoming; by their ' influence we shall be made social, affable, benevolent; for, as musick ' combines sounds in just melody, so the ancient poetry tempers and ' composes our passions: the Odes teach us our duty to our parents at ' home,

‘ home, and abroad to our prince ; they instruct us also delightfully in
 ‘ the various productions of nature.’ ‘ Hast thou studied, said the Phi-
 ‘ losopher to his son PEYU, the first of the three hundred Odes on the
 ‘ nuptials of Prince VE’NVA’M, and the virtuous TAI JIN? He, who
 ‘ studies them not, resembles a man with his face against a wall, unable
 ‘ to advance a step in virtue and wisdom.’ Most of those Odes are near
three thousand years old, and some, if we give credit to the *Chinese*
 annals, considerably older ; but others are somewhat more recent, hav-
 ing been composed under the later Emperors of the *third* family, called
 SHEU. The work is printed in *four* volumes ; and, towards the end of
 the *first*, we find the Ode, which COUPLET has accurately translated at
 the beginning of the TA’ HIO, or *Great Science*, where it is finely am-
 plified by the Philosopher : I produce the original from the SHI’ KING
 itself, and from the book, in which it is cited, together with a double
 version, one verbal and another metrical ; the only method of doing
 justice to the poetical compositions of the *Asiatics*. It is a panegyrick
 on VUCU’N, Prince of *Guey* in the province of *Honang*, who died, near
 a century old, in the *thirteenth* year of the Emperor PINGVANG, *seven*
hundred and fifty-six years before the birth of CHRIST, or *one hundred*
and forty-eight, according to Sir ISAAC NEWTON, after the taking of
Troy, so that the *Chinese* Poet might have been contemporary with
 HESIOD and HOMER, or at least must have written the Ode before the
Iliad and *Odyssèy* were carried into *Greece* by LYCURGUS.

The verbal translation of the thirty-two original characters is this :

- ‘ Behold¹ yon reach² of *the river* K³I ;
- ‘ Its green reeds how luxuriant⁴ ! how luxuriant⁵ !
- ‘ Thus⁶ is our Prince adorned⁷ with virtues⁸ ;
- ‘ As a carver⁹, as a filer¹⁰, of ivory,
- ‘ As a cutter¹¹, as a polisher¹², of gems.

‘ O how

Chinese Ode.

瞻彼淇澳美竹猗猗
有斐君子如切如磋
如琢如磨瑟兮僖兮
赫兮喧兮有斐君子
終不可諠

- ' O how elate and sagacious ! O how dauntless and composed !
 ' How worthy of fame ! How worthy of reverence !
 ' We have a Prince adorned with virtues,
 ' Whom to the end of *time* we can not forget.

The PARAPHRASE.

Behold, where yon blue riv'let glides
 Along the laughing dale ;
 Light reeds bedeck its verdant fides,
 And frolick in the gale :

So shines our Prince ! In bright array,
 The Virtues round him wait ;
 And sweetly smil'd th' auspicious day,
 That rais'd Him o'er our State.

As pliant hands in shapes refin'd
 Rich iv'ry carve and smoothe,
 His *Laws* thus mould each ductile mind,
 And every passion soothe.

As gems are taught by patient art
 In sparkling ranks to beam,
 With *Manners* thus he forms the hoast,
 And spreads a gen'ral gleam.

What soft, yet awful, dignity !
 What meek, yet manly, grace !
 What sweetness dances in his eye,
 And blossoms in his face !

So shines our Prince ! A sky-born crowd
 Of Virtues round him blaze :
 Ne'er shall Oblivion's murky cloud
 Obscure his deathless praise.

The prediction of the Poet has hitherto been accomplished ; but he little imagined, that his composition would be admired, and his Prince celebrated in a language not then formed, and by the natives of regions so remote from his own.

In the *tenth* leaf of the TA' HIO a beautiful comparison is quoted from another Ode in the SHI' KING, which deserves to be exhibited in the same form with the preceding :

- The peach-tree, how fair ! how graceful !
- Its leaves, how blooming ! how pleasant !
- Such is a bride, when she enters her bridegroom's house,
- And pays due attention to her whole family.'

The simile may thus be rendered :

Gay child of Spring, the garden's queen,
 Yon peach-tree charms the roving sight :
 Its fragrant leaves how richly green !
 Its blossoms how divinely bright !

So softly smiles the blooming bride
 By love and conscious Virtue led
 O'er her new mansion to preside,
 And placid joys around her spread.

The next leaf exhibits a comparison of a different nature, rather sublime than agreeable, and conveying rather censure than praise:

O how horridly impends yon southern mountain!
 Its rocks in how vast, how rude a heap!
 Thus loftily thou fittest, O minister of YN;
 All the people look up to thee with dread.

Which may be thus paraphrased:

See, where yon crag's imperious height
 The sunny highland crowns,
 And, hideous as the brow of night,
 Above the torrent frowns!

So scowls the Chief, whose will is law,
 Regardless of our state;
 While millions gaze with painful awe,
 With fear allied to hate.

It was a very ancient practice in *China* to paint or engrave moral sentences and approved verses on vessels in constant use; as the words RENEW THYSELF DAILY were inscribed on the basin of the Emperor TANG, and the poem of KIEN LONG, who is now on the throne, in praise of Tea, has been published on a set of porcelain cups; and, if the description just cited of a selfish and insolent statesman were, in the same manner, constantly presented to the eyes and attention of rulers, it might produce some benefit to their subjects and to themselves; especially if the comment of TSEM TSU, who may be called the XENOPHON; as CUN FU' TSU' was the SOCRATES, and MEM TSU the PLATO, of *China*, were added to illustrate and enforce it.

If

If the rest of the *three hundred Odes* be similar to the specimens ad-
 duced by those great moralists in their works, which the *French* have
 made publick, I should be very solicitous to procure our nation the ho-
 nour of bringing to light the *second* Classical book of the *Chinese*. The
third, called YEKING, or the book of Changes, believed to have been
 written by FO, the HERMES of the East, and consisting of right lines
 variously disposed, is hardly intelligible to the most learned *Mandarins*;
 and CUN FU' TSU' himself, who was prevented by death from accom-
 plishing his design of elucidating it, was dissatisfied with all the inter-
 pretations of the earliest commentators. As to the *fifth*, or LIKI, which
 that excellent man compiled from old monuments, it consists chiefly of
 the *Chinese* ritual, and of tracts on Moral Duties; but the *fourth* entitled
 CHUNG CIEU, or *Spring and Autumn*, by which the same incomparable
 writer meant the *flourishing* state of an Empire, under a virtuous mo-
 narch, and the *fall* of kingdoms, under bad governors, must be an inte-
 resting work in every nation. The powers, however, of an individual
 are so limited, and the field of knowledge is so vast, that I dare not
 promise more, than to procure, if any exertions of mine will avail, a
 complete translation of the SHI' KING, together with an authentick
 abridgement of the *Chinese* Laws, civil and criminal. A native of *Can-*
ton, whom I knew some years ago in *England*, and who passed his first
 examinations with credit in his way to literary distinctions, but was
 afterwards allured from the pursuit of learning by a prospect of success
 in trade, has favoured me with the *Three Hundred Odes* in the original,
 together with the LU'N YU', a faithful version of which was published
 at *Paris* near a century ago; but he seems to think, that it would re-
 quire three or four years to complete a translation of them; and Mr.
 Cox informs me, that none of the *Chinese*, to whom he has access,
possess leisure and perseverance enough for such a task; yet he hopes, with
 the assistance of WHANG ATONG, to send me next season some of the
 poems translated into *English*. A little encouragement would induce
 this

this young *Chinese* to visit *India*, and some of his countrymen would, perhaps, accompany him; but, though considerable advantage to the publick, as well as to letters, might be reaped from the knowledge and ingenuity of such emigrants, yet we must wait for a time of greater national wealth and prosperity, before such a measure can be formally recommended by us to our patrons at the helm of government.

THE LUNAR YEAR OF THE HINDUS.

BY

THE PRESIDENT.

HAVING lately met by accident with a wonderfully curious tract of the learned and celebrated RAGHUNANDANA, containing a full account of all the rites and ceremonies in the lunar year, I twice perused it with eagerness, and present the Society with a correct outline of it, in the form of a calendar, illustrated with short notes: the many passages quoted in it from the *Védas*, the *Puránas*, the *Sástras* of law and astronomy, the *Calpa*, or sacred ritual, and other works of immemorial antiquity and reputed holiness, would be thought highly interesting by such as take pleasure in researches concerning the *Hindus*; but a translation of them all would fill a considerable volume, and such only are exhibited as appeared most distinguished for elegance or novelty.

The lunar year of three hundred and sixty days, is apparently more ancient in India than the solar, and began, as we may infer from a verse in the *Mátſya*, with the month *A'swin*, so called, because the moon was at the full, when that name was imposed, in the first lunar station of the *Hindu* ecliptick, the origin of which, being diametrically opposite to the bright star *Chitrà*, may be ascertained in our sphere with exactness; but, although most of the *Indian* fasts and festivals be regulated by the days of the moon, yet the most solemn and remarkable of them

have

have a manifest reference to the supposed motions of the sun; the *Durgótsava* and *Hólíca* relating as clearly to the autumnal and vernal equinoxes, as the sleep and rise of *VISHNU* relate to the solstices: the *Sancrántis*, or days on which the sun enters a new sign, especially those of *Tulá* and *Mésba*, are great festivals of the solar year, which anciently began with *Pausba* near the winter solstice, whence the month *Márga-sirsha* has the name of *A'grabáyana*, or *the year is next before*. The twelve months, now denominated from as many stations of the moon, seem to have been formerly peculiar to the lunar year; for the old solar months, beginning with *Chaitra*, have the following very different names in a curious text of the *Véda* on the order of the six Indian seasons; *Madbu*, *Mádhava*, *Sucra*, *Suchi*, *Nabbas*, *Nabbasya*, *Ija*, *Urja*, *Sabas*, *Sabasya*, *Tapas*, *Tapasya*. It is necessary to premise, that the *muc'hya chándra*, or *primary* lunar month, ends with the conjunction, and the *gauna chándra*, or *secondary*, with the opposition: both modes of reckoning are authorized by the several *Puránas*; but, although the astronomers of *Cáfi* have adopted the *gauna* month, and place in *Bhúdra* the birth-day of their pastoral god, the *muc'hya* is here preferred, because it is generally used in this province, and especially at the ancient seminary of *Bráhmens* at *Máyápur*, now called *Navadwípa*, because a *new island* has been formed by the *Ganges* on the site of the old academy. The *Hindus* define a *tit'bi*, or lunar day, to be the time, in which the moon passes through twelve degrees of her path, and to each *pacsha*, or half month, they allot fifteen *tit'bis*, though they divide the moon's orb into *sixteen* phases, named *Calás*, one of which they suppose constant, and compare to the string of a necklace or chaplet, round which are placed moveable gems and flowers: the *Mabú-calá* is the day of the conjunction, called *Amá*, or *Amávásyá*, and defined by *GOBHILA*, the *day of the nearest approach to the sun*; on which obsequies are performed to the manes of the *Pitrís*, or certain progenitors of the human race, to whom the *darker* fortnight is peculiarly sacred.

Many

Many subtle points are discussed by my author concerning the *junction* of two or even three lunar days in forming one fast or festival; but such a detail can be useful only to the *Bráhmens*, who could not guide their flocks, as the *Raja* of *Crisnánagar* assures me, without the assistance of RAGHUNANDAN. So fond are the *Hindus* of mythological personifications, that they represent each of the thirty *tit'bis* as a beautiful nymph; and the *Gáyatrítantra*, of which *Sannyási* made me a present, though he considered it as the holiest book after the *Véda*, contains flowery descriptions of each nymph, much resembling the delineations of the thirty *Ráginis*, in the treatises on *Indian* music.

In what manner the *Hindus* contrive so far to reconcile the lunar and solar years, as to make them proceed concurrently in their ephemerides, might easily have been shown by exhibiting a version of the *Nadtya* or *Varánes* almanack; but their modes of intercalation form no part of my present subject, and would injure the simplicity of my work, without throwing any light on the religion of the *Hindus*. The following tables have been very diligently compared by myself with two *Sanscrit* almanacks, with a superficial chapter in the work of ABU'LEFAZL, and with a list of *Indian* holidays published at *Calcutta*; in which there are nine or ten fasts called *Jayantis*, distinguished chiefly by the titles of the *Avatáras*, and twelve or thirteen days marked as the beginnings of as many *Calpas*, or very long periods, an hundred of which constitute BRAHMA's age; but having found no authority for those holidays, I have omitted them: some festivals, however, or fasts, which are passed over in silence by RAGHUNANDAN, are here printed in *Italick* letters; because they may be mentioned in other books, and kept holy in other provinces or by particular sects. I cannot refrain from adding, that *human sacrifices* were anciently made on the *Mahanavamí*; and it is declared in the *Bhawiskya Purána*, that *the head of a slaughtered man gives DURGA' a thousand times more satisfaction than that of a buffalo*:

*Náreṇa śirasà víra pújità vidbhiwannrīpa,
trīptā bhawéd bhrīś'am Durgā verṣhani lacṣham'vacha.*

But in the *Bráhma* every *neramédha*, or *sacrifice of a man*, is expressly forbidden; and in the fifth book of the *Bhágawat* are the following emphatical words: “*Yé twiḥa vai puruṣbáb puruṣham'édh'na yajanti,*
“*yáscha śtriyó nrīpasún c'bádanti, tánscha táścha tò paśáva iha nibatà,*
“*yama sádanè yátayantó, racṣógana saunichá iva sudbittinú 'vaddiyasrīc*
“*pīvanti;*” that is, “Whatever men in this world sacrifice human
“ victims, and, whatever women eat the flesh of male cattle, those men
“ and those women shall the animals here slain torment in the mansion
“ of YAMA, and, like slaughtering giants, having cleaved their limbs
“ with axes, shall quaff their blood.” It may seem strange, that a
human sacrifice by a man should be no greater crime than eating the
flesh of a male beast by a woman; but it is held a mortal offence to kill
any creature, except for sacrifice, and none but males must ever be
sacrificed, nor must women, except after the performance of a *śraúddha*
by their husbands, taste the flesh even of victims. Many strange cere-
monies at the *Durgótsava* still subsist among the *Hindus* both male and
female, an account of which might elucidate some very obscure parts
of the *Mosaick* law; but this is not a place for such disquisitions. The
ceremony of *swinging* with iron hooks through the muscles, on the
day of the *Cberec*, was introduced, as I am credibly informed, in modern
times, by a superstitious prince, named *Vána*, who was a *Saiva* of the
most austere sect: but the custom is bitterly censured by learned *Hindus*,
and the day is, therefore, omitted in the following abridgement of the
Tit'bi tatwa.

A'SWINA.

- I. Navarātrīcam. *a*.
- II.
- III. Acshayá. *b*.
- IV.
- V. Sáyam-adhiváfa. *c*.
- VI. Shaṣṭyádicalpa bódhanam. *d*.
- VII. Patricá-pravéfa. *e*.
- VIII. Maháṣṭtámi sandhipújā.
- IX. Mahánavamī. *f*. Manwantará. *g*.
- X. Vijaya. *b*.
- XI.
- XII.
- XIII.
- XIV.
- XV. A'swiní Cójágara. *i*.

a. By some the first *nine nights* are allotted to the decoration of DURGĀ' with ceremonies peculiar to each. *Bhawishyóttara*.

b. When certain days of the moon fall on certain days of the week, they are called *acshayás*, or *unperishable*.

c. The evening preparation for her dress.

d. On

d. On this day she is commonly awakened, and her festival begins.

Dēvi-purāna.

e. She is invited to a bower of *leaves* from *nine* plants, of which the *Bilva* is the chief.

f. The last of the three great days. “The sacrificed beasts must be
“killed at one blow with a broad sword or a sharp axe.”

Cālicāpurāna.

g. The *fourteen* days, named *Manwantarās*, are supposed to be the first of as many very long periods, each of which was the reign of a MENU: they are all placed according to the *Bhāṣya* and *Māṭṣya*.

h. The goddess dismissed with reverence, and her image cast into the river, but without *Mantras*.

Baudhāyana.

i. On this full moon the fiend NICUMBHA led his army against DURGA'; and LACSHMI descended, promising wealth to those *who were awake*: hence the night is passed in playing at ancient chess. CUVE'RA also and INDRA are worshipped.

Lainga and *Brāhma*.

ASWINA:
or *Cártica*.

I.

II.

III.

IV.

V.

VI.

VII.

VIII. Dagdhá. *a*.

IX.

X.

XI.

XII.

XIII.

XIV. Bhútachaturdasì Yamaterpanam. *b*.XV. Lacshmi-pujá dipánwita. *c*. Syámá-pujá. Ulcádánam. *d*.

a. The days called *dagdha*, or *burnt*, are variable, and depend on some inauspicious conjunctions. *Vidyá-sirdmani*.

b. Bathing and libations to YAMA, regent of the south or the lower world, and judge of departed spirits. *Lainga*.

c. A fast

c. A fast all day, and a great festival at night, in honour of LACSHMI, with illuminations on trees and houses: invocations are made at the same time to CUVE'RA. *Rudra-dhara.*

“ On this night, when the Gods, having been delivered by CE'SAVA, “ were slumbering on the rocks, that bounded the sea of milk, LACSHMI, “ no longer fearing the *Daityas*, slept apart on a lotos.” *Bráhma.*

d. Flowers are also offered on this day to SYA'M'A, or the black, an epithet of BHAVA'NI, who appears in the *Calijug*, as a damsel twelve years old. *Váránasi Panjicá.*

Torches and flaming brands are kindled and consecrated, to burn the bodies of kinsmen, who may be dead in battle or in a foreign country, and to light them through the shades of death to the mansion of YAMA. *Bráhma.*

These rites bear a striking resemblance to those of CERES and PROSERPINE.

CA'RTICA.

- I. Dyúta pratipat. *a.* Belipújá. *b.*
- II. Bhrátrī dwitíyá. *c.*
- III.
- IV.
- V.
- VI.
- VII. Acśhayá.
- VIII. Góhṭ'háśhtamí. *d.*
- IX. Durgá navamī. *e.* Yugádyá. *f.*
- X.
- XI. Utt'hánaicádasí. *g.* *Baca panchacam.*
- XII. Manwantará.
- XIII.
- XIV. *Sríberútt'hánam.*
- XV. Cárticī. Manwantará. Dánámávafyacam. *h.*

a. MAHA'DE'VA was beaten on this day at a game of chance by PA'R-VATI': hence games of chance are allowed in the morning; and the winner expects a fortunate year. *Bráhma.*

b. A nightly festival, with illuminations and offerings of flowers, in honour of the ancient king BELI. *Vámena.*

c. YAMA.

c. YAMA, child of the Sun, was entertained on this lunar day by the river-goddesſ YAMUNA', his younger ſiſter: hence the day is ſacred to them both; and ſiſters give entertainments to their brothers, who make preſents in return. *Lainga Mahābhārata.*

d. Cows are on this day to be fed, caressed, and attended in their paſtures; and the *Hindus* are to walk round them with ceremony, keeping them always to the right hand. *Bhīma parācrama.*

e. "To eat nothing but dry rice on this day of the moon for " nine ſucceſſive years, will ſecure the favour of DURGA'."

Calicā purāna.

f. The firſt day of the *Trētā Yuga*. *Vaiṣṇava. Brāhma.*

g. VISHNU riſes on this day, and in ſome years on the *fourteenth*, from his ſlumber of four months. He is waked by this incantation: "The
" clouds are diſperſed; the full moon will appear in perfect brightneſs;
" and I come, in hope of acquiring purity, to offer the freſh flowers of
" the ſeaſon: awake from thy long ſlumber, awake, O Lord of all
" worlds!"

Vārāha. Mātṣya.

The Lord of all worlds neither ſlumbers nor ſleeps.

A ſtrict faſt is obſerved on the *eleventh*; and even the *Baca*, a water-bird, abſtains, it is ſaid, from his uſual food.

Vidyā ſirōmani.

b. Gifts to *Brāhmens* are indiſpenſably neceſſary on this day.

Rāmāyana.

CA'RTICA:

CA'RTICA:
or *Mārgasīrsha*.

- I.
- II.
- III.
- IV.
- V.
- VI.
- VII.
- VIII.
- IX.
- X.
- XI.
- XII.
- XIII.
- XIV. Acshayá.
- XV. Gófahafri. *a*.

a. Bathing in the *Gangá*, and other appointed ceremonies, on this day will be equally rewarded with a gift of a *thousand cows* to the *Bráhmens*.
Vyása.

MĀ'RGASI'RSHA.

I.

II.

III.

IV.

V.

VI. Guha śhaṣṭī. *a.*VII. *Mitra septamī. b.* Navánnam.

VIII. Navánnam.

IX.

X.

XI.

XII. *Ac'bandi dwádaśi.* Navánnam.

XIII.

XIV. Páñhána chaturdaśi. *c.*

XV. Mārgasírśhī. Navánnam.

a. Sacred to SCANDA, or CA'RTICE'YA, God of Arms.*Bhawishya.**b.* In honour of the Sun. *Navánnam* signifies *new grain*, oblations of which are made on any of the days to which the word is annexed.*c.* GAURI' to be worshipped at night, and cakes of rice to be eaten in the form of *large pebbles*.*Bhawishya.*

MĀ'RGASI'RSHA:

MA'RGASI'RSHA:

or *Pausha*.

I.

II.

III.

IV.

V.

VI.

VII.

VIII. Púpáshácá. *a*.IX. *Dagdábá*.

X.

XI.

XII.

XIII.

XIV.

XV.

a. Cakes of rice are offered on this day, which is also called *Aindrè*, from INDRA, to the Manes of ancestors. *Góbbila*.

PAUSHA.

I. The *morning* of the Gods, or beginning of the old *Hindu* year.

II. *Dagdbá.*

III.

IV.

V.

VI.

VII.

VIII.

IX.

X.

XI. *Manwantará.*

XII.

XIII.

XIV.

XV. *Paushí.*

PAUSHA:

or *Mágba*.

I.

II.

III.

IV.

V.

VI.

VII.

VIII. *Mánsáhtacá. a.*

IX.

X.

XI.

XII.

XIII.

XIV. *Rátantì, or the waters speak. b.*

XV.

a. On this day, called also *Prájápatyá*, from *Prajápati*, or the Lord of Creatures, the flesh of male kids or wild deer is offered to the Manes.

Góbbhila.

“ On the eighth lunar day, ICSHWA'CU spoke thus to his son VI-
 “ CUCSHI: Go, robust youth, and having slain a male deer, bring his
 “ flesh for the funeral oblation.”

Herivans'a.

b. Bathing at the first appearance of ARUNA, or the dawn. *Yama.*

MA'GHA.

MĀ'GHĀ.

I.

II.

III.

IV. Varadā chaturt'hī. Gaurípújá. *a.*V. Srí panchamí. *b.*

VI.

VII. Bhāscara septamí. *c.* Mācarí. Manwantará.VIII. Bhíshmáshtamí. *d.*IX. *Mabánandá.*

X.

XI. Bhaimí. *e.*XII. Sháttiladánam. *f.*

XIII.

XIV.

XV. Mághí. Yugádyā. *g.* Dánamávafyacam.*a.* The worship of GAURI', surnamed *Varadā*, or *granting boons*.*Bhauishyóttara.**b.* On this lunar day SARASWATÍ', here called SRÍ', the goddess of arts and eloquence, is worshipped with offerings of perfumes, flowers, and dressed rice: even the implements of writing and books are treated with respect and not used on this holiday.*Samvatfara pradīpa.**A Meditation on SARASWATÍ.*

‘ May the goddess of speech enable us to attain all possible felicity;

‘ she,

‘ she, who wears on her locks a young moon, who shines with exquisite
 ‘ lustre, whose body bends with the weight of her full breasts, who sits
 ‘ reclined on a white lotos, and from the crimson lotos of her hands
 ‘ pours radiance on the instruments of writing, and on the books pro-
 ‘ duced by her favour!’ *Sāraddā tilaca.*

c. A fast in honour of the Sun, as a *form* of VISHNU. *Vārāha purāna.*

It is called also *Mācarī* from the constellation of *Macara*, into which
 the Sun enters on the first of the solar *Māgha*. *Critya calpa taru.*

This day has also the names of *Rat’hyā* and *Rat’ha septamī*, because it
 was the beginning of a *Manwantarā*, when a new Sun ascended his car.

Nārasiṃha. Mātṣya.

d. A libation of holy water is offered by all the four classes to the
 Manes of the valiant and pious BHĪSHMA, son of GANGA’.

Bhawishyottara.

e. Ceremonies with *tila*, or *sesamum*, in honour of BHĪMA.

Viṣṇu dharma.

f. *Tila* offered in *six* different modes.

Mātṣya.

g. The first day of the *Galiyuga*.

Brāhma.

MA'GHA:
or *P'hálguna*.

I.

II.

III.

IV.

V.

VI.

VII.

VIII. *Sácáshácá. a.*

IX.

X.

XI.

XII.

XIII.

XIV. *Siva ratri. b.*

XV.

a. Green vegetables are offered on this day to the Manes of ancestors : it is called also *Vaiswédévici* from the *Vaiswédéváb*, or certain paternal progenitors. *Góbbila.*

b. A rigorous fast, with extraordinary ceremonies in honour of the *Sivalinga* or Phallus. *I'jána sambitá.*

P'HA'LGUNA.

P'HA'LGUNA.

I.

II.

III.

IV. *Dagdubá.*

V.

VI.

VII.

VIII.

IX.

X.

XI.

XII. Góvinda dwádasî. *a.*

XIII.

XIV.

XV. P'hálgunî. Manwantará. Dólayátrá. *b.*

a. Bathing in the *Gangá* for the remission of mortal sins. *Pádma.*

b. *Hólîcâ*, or *P'halgâtjava*, vulgarly *Hûlî*, the great festival on the approach of the vernal equinox.

Kings and people *sport* on this day in honour of *Góvinda*, who is carried in a *dólî*, or palanquin. *Bráhma. Scánda.*

P'HA'LGUNA:

or *Ghaitra*.

I.

II.

III.

IV.

V.

VI.

VII.

VIII. *Sitalá pújā.*

IX.

X.

XI.

XII.

XIII. *Mahāvārūnī?*

XIV.

XV. Maunī. a. Acshayā. Manwantarā.

a. Bathing in *silence*.*Vyāṣa. Scānda.*

CHAITRA.

I. The *lunisolar* year of VICRAMA'DITYA begins.

II.

III. Manwantará.

IV.

V.

VI. Scanda-shashtí. *a.*

VII.

VIII. Asócáshtamí. *b.*

IX. Sríráma-navamí. *c.*

X.

XI.

XII.

XIII. Madana-trayódasí. *d.*

XIV. Madana-chaturdasí. *e.*

XV. Chaitrí. Manwantará.

a. Sacred to CA'RTICE'YA, the God of War. *Dévi-purána.*

b. Men and women of all classes ought to bathe in some holy stream, and, if possible, in the *Brabmaputra*: they should also drink water with buds of the *Asóca* floating on it. *Scanda.*

c. The birthday of RA'MA CHANDRA. Ceremonies are to be performed with the mystical stone *Sálagrāma* and leaves of *Tulasi*. *Agastya.*

d. A

d. A festival in honour of CA'MA DE'VA, God of Love. *Bharvishya.*

c. The same continued with musick and bathing.

Saurāgama. Mācā.

The Hymn to CA'MA.

1. Hail, God of the flowery bow ; hail, warrior with a fish on thy banner ; hail, powerful divinity, who causest the firmness of the figs to forsake him, and subduest the guardian deities of eight regions !

2. O CANDARPA, thou son of MA'DHAVA ! O MA'RA, thou foe of SAMBHARA ! Glory be given to thee, who lovest the goddess RETI ; to thee, by whom all worlds are subdued ; to thee, who springest from the heart !

3. Glory be to MADANA, to CA'MA ; to Him, who is formed as the God of Gods ; to Him, by whom BRAHMA', VISHNU, SIVA, INDRA, are filled with emotions of rapture !

4. May all my mental cares be removed, all my corporal sufferings terminate ! May the object of my soul be attained, and my felicity continue for ever !

Bharvishya-purāna.

CHAITRA:

or *Vaisác'ha*.

I.

II. *Dagdbá*.

III.

IV.

V.

VI.

VII.

VIII.

IX.

X.

XI.

XII.

XIII. *Váruni. a.*XIV. *Angáraca dinam. b.*

XV.

a. So called from *Várana*, or the lunar constellation *Satabhishà*: when it falls on *Saturday*, it is named *Maháváruni*. Bathing by day and at night in the *Gangà*. *Scánda.*

b. Sacred, I believe, to the planet *Mangala*. “A branch of *Snuhè* “ (*Euphorbia*) in a whitened vessel, placed with a red flag on the “ housetop, on the fourteenth of the dark half of *Ghaitra*, drives away “ sin and disease.” *Rája mártanda.*

VAISA'C'HA:

VAISA'C'HA.

I.

II.

III. Acshaya tritíyá. *a.* Yugádyá. *b.* Paras'urám.

IV.

V.

VI. Dagdhá.

VII. *Jabnu septamí.*

VIII.

IX.

X.

XI.

XII. Pipítaca dwádasi. *c.*

XIII.

XIV. *Nrīsinha chaturdasi.*

XV. Vais'ac'hí. Dánamávasyacam.

a. Gifts on this day of water and grain, especially of *barley*, with oblations to CRISHNA of perfumes, and other religious rites, produce fruit *without end* in the next world. *Scánda. Bráhma. Bháwīshya.*

b. The first day of the *Satya yuga.* *Bráhma. Vais'kava.*

“ Water and oil of *tila*, offered on the *Yugádyás* to the *Pitrīs*, or progenitors of mankind, are equal to obsequies continued for a thousand years.” *Vishnu-purána.*

This

This was also the day, on which the river *Gangá* flowed from the foot of *Viṣṇu* down upon *Himálaya*, where she was received on the head of *Siva*, and led afterwards to the ocean by king *Bhágírat'ha*: hence adoration is now paid to *Gangá*, *Himálaya*, *Sancara*, and his mountain *Cailasa*; nor must *Bhágírat'ha* be neglected. *Bráhma.*

c. Libations to the Manes.

Raghunandan.

Note on p. 393.

Dólayátra. b.

Compare this holiday and the superstition on the *fourth* of *Bhádra* with the two *Egyptian* festivals mentioned by PLUTARCH; one called the *entrance of OSIRIS into the Moon*, and the other, *his confinement or inclosure in an Ark*.

The people usually claim *four* other days for their sports, and sprinkle one another with a *red powder* in imitation of vernal flowers: it is commonly made with the mucilaginous root of a fragrant plant, coloured with *Bakkam*, or *Sappan-wood*, a little alum being added to extract and fix the redness.

V A I S A ' C ' H A :

or *Jyaishit'ha*.

I.

II.

III.

IV. Dagdhá.

V.

VI.

VII.

VIII.

IX.

X.

XI.

XII.

XIII.

XIV. Sávitri vratam. *a*.

XV.

a. A fast, with ceremonies by women, at the roots of the *Indian* fig-tree, to preserve them from widowhood.

Parásara. Rájamártanda. Critya cbintámeni.

JYAIŠT'HA.

- I.
- II.
- III. Rembhá tritíyá. *a.*
- IV.
- V.
- VI. Aranya śaśhāti. *b.*
- VII. *Acśhaya.*
- VIII.
- IX.
- X. Daśahara. *c.*
- XI. Nirjalaicúdas'ī. *d.*
- XII.
- XIII.
- XIV. *Champaca chaturdasī. e.*
- XV. Jyaisht'hí. Manwantará.

a. On this day of the moon the *Hindu* women imitate REMBHA', the seaborne goddess of beauty, who bathed on the same day, with particular ceremonies. *Bhawishhyóttara.*

b. Women walk in the *forests* with a fan in one hand, and eat certain vegetables in hope of beautiful children. *Rāja mártanda.*

See the account given by PLINY of the *Druidical* mistletoe, or *wisum*, which was to be gathered, when the moon was *six* days old, as a preservative from *sterility*.

c. The word means *ten-removing*, or *removing ten sins*, an epithet of *Gangá*, who effaces *ten* sins, how heinous soever, committed in *ten* previous births by such as bathe in her waters. *Brakma-varivarta*.

A Couplet by SANC'HA.

“ On the tenth of *Jyaisht'ba*, in the bright half of the month, on
 “ the day of MANGALA, son of the Earth, when the moon was in
 “ *Hastá*, this daughter of JANU buried from the rocks, and flowed over
 “ the land inhabited by mortals: on this lunar day, therefore, she
 “ washes off ten sins (thus have the venerable sages declared) and
 “ gives an hundred times more felicity, than could be attained by a
 “ myriad of *Aśwamedhas*, or *sacrifices of a horse*.”

d. A fast so strict, that even *water* must *not* be tasted.

e. A festival, I suppose, with the flowers of the *Ckampaca*.

JY AISH T'HA:

or *A'shárba*.

I.

II.

III.

IV. *Dagdbá*.

V.

VI.

VII.

VIII.

IX.

X. Ambuváchi pradam. *a*.

XI.

XII.

XIII. Ambuváchi tyágah.

XIV.

XV. Gófahafí.

a. The Earth in her courses till the thirteenth.*Jyótish*.

A'SHA'D'HA.

I.

II. Rat'ha Yátrá. *a.*

III.

IV.

V.

VI.

VII.

VIII.

IX.

X. Manwantará.

XI. Sayanaicádasí. Rátrau s'ayanam. *b.*

XII.

XIII.

XIV.

XV. A'ghárhí. Manwantará. Dānamāvatiyacam.

a. The image of CRISHNA, in the character of *Jagannát'ha*, or Lord of the Universe, is borne by day in a *car*, together with those of BALARÁMA and SUBHADR'A: when the moon rises, the feast begins, but must end, as soon as it sets. *Scānda.*

b. The *night* of the Gods beginning with the summer solstice, VISHNU reposes *four* months on the serpent SE'SHA.

Bhāgavata. Mát'sya. Várāha.

A'SHA'D'HA:

A'SHA'D'HA:

or *Srávana*.

I.

II.

III.

IV.

V. Manasápanchamì. *a*.VI. *Dagdbá*.

VII.

VIII. Manwantará.

IX.

X.

XI.

XII.

XIII.

XIV.

XV.

a. In honour of *Dévi*, the goddess of nature, surnamed *Manasá*, who, while VISHNU and all the Gods were sleeping, sat in the shape of a serpent on a branch of *Srubá*, to preserve mankind from the venom of snakes.

Garuda. Dévipurána.

SRA'VANA.

I.

II.

III.

IV.

V. Nágapanchamí. *a*.

VI.

VII.

VIII.

IX.

X.

XI.

XII.

XIII.

XIV.

XV. S'rávaní.

a. Sacred to the demigods in the form of *Serpents*, who are enumerated in the *Pádma*, and *Garuda*, *purānas*. Doors of houses are smeared with cow-dung and *Nimba*-leaves, as a preservative from poisonous reptiles. *Bharadvīya. Retnācara.*

Both in the *Pádma* and *Gāruda* we find the serpent CA'LĪYA, whom CRISHNĀ slew in his childhood, among the deities worshipped on this day; as the *Pythian* snake, according to CLEMENS, was adored with APOLLO at *Delphi*.

SRA'VANA: or *Bhadra*.

I.

II.

III.

IV.

V.

VI.

VII. *Dagdā*.VIII. *Crishnajānmashtami*. *a.* *Jayantī*. *b.*

IX.

X.

XI.

XII.

XIII. *Yugādyā*. *c.*

XIV.

XV. *Amāvāsyā*.

a. The birthday of CRISHNA, son of MAHA'MA'Y'A in the form of DE'VAC'I. *Vas'isht'ha. Bhawishyottara.*

b. A strict fast from midnight. In the book, entitled *Dwaita nir-naya*, it is said that the *Jayanti yōga* happens, whenever the moon is in *Rōhinī* on the *eighth* of any dark fortnight; but VARA'HA MIHIRA confines it to the time, when the Sun is in *Sin'ha*. This fast, during which CHANDRA and RO'HIN'I are worshipped, is also called *Rōbinī vrata*. *Brāhmānda.*

c. The first day of the *Dwāpara Yuga*. *Brāhma.*

BHADRA.

I.

II.

III. Manwantará.

IV. *Heritálicà. Ganéśa caturt'hi. Nāhtachandra. a.*V. *Rīṣhi pañchamī.*

VI.

VII. Aśhayā lalitā. *b.*VIII. Dúrvāśtamī. *c.*

IX.

X.

XI. Párfwaperivertanam. *d.*XII. S'acrótt'hānam. *e.*

XIII.

XIV. Ananta vratam. *f.*

XV. Bhádrī.

a. CRISHNA, falsely accused in his childhood of having stolen a gem from PRASE'NA, who had been killed by a lion, *hid himself in the moon* : to see which on the two *fourth* days of *Bhádra* is inauspicious.

Bráhma. Bhójadēva.

b. A ceremony, called *Cuccutí vratam*, performed by women in honour of SIVA and DURGA'.

Bhawishya.

c. " The

c. "The family of him, who performs holy rites on this lunar day, shall flourish and increase like the grass *dúrva*." It is the *rayed* AGROSTIS.

Bhawishyóttara.

d. VISHNU sleeping turns on his side.

Mátŷya. Bhawishya.

e. Princes erect poles adorned with flowers, by way of standards, in honour of INDRA: the ceremonies are minutely described in the *Cálicá purána*.

f. Sacred to VISHNU with the title of ANANTA, or Infinite.

Bhawishyóttara.

BHĀ' DRA:

or *A'swina*.I. Aparapacsha. *Brahma sávitri*.

II.

III.

IV. Nāṣṭa-chandra.

V.

VI.

VII. Agastyódayah. *a*.

VIII.

IX. Bódhanam. *b*.

X.

XI.

XII.

XIII. *Magbátrayódasi śráddham*.

XIV.

XV. Mahálayá. Amávásyá.

a. Three days before the sun enters the constellation of *Canyá*, let the people, who dwell in *Gaura*, offer a dish of flowers to AGASTYA.

Brahma-variverta.

Having poured water into a sea-shell, let the votary fill it with white flowers and unground rice: then, turning to the south, let him offer it
with

with this incantation: ‘ Hail, CUMBHAYO’NI, born in the fight of
 ‘ MITRA and VARUNA, bright as the bloſſom of the graſs *cáſa*; thou,
 ‘ who ſprangelt from AGNI and MA’RUTA.’ *Cáſa* is the *Spontaneous*
 SACCHARUM. *Náraſinba.*

This is properly a feſtival of the ſolar year, in honour of the ſage
 AGASTYA, ſuppoſed, after his death, to preſide over the ſtar *Canopus*.

b. Some begin on this day, and continue till the *ninth* of the new
 moon, the great feſtival, called *Durgótſava*, in honour of DURGA’, the
 goddeſs of nature; who is now *awakened* with ſports and muſick, as ſhe
 was waked in the beginning by BRAHMA’ during the night of the Gods.

Cálicá purána.

Note on p. 383.

Utt’hánaicádasi. g.

In one almanack I ſee on this day *Tulaſi-viváha*, or the Marriage of
 TULAS’I, but have no other authority for mentioning ſuch a feſtival.
 TULAS’I was a Nymph beloved by CRISHNA, but transformed by him
 into the *Parnáſi*, or black *Ocimum*, which commonly bears her name.

GENERAL NOTE.

If the feſtivals of the old *Greeks, Romans, Perſians, Egyptians, and*
Goths, could be arranged with exactneſs in the ſame form with theſe
Indian tables, there would be found, I am perſuaded, a ſtriking reſem-
 blance among them; and an attentive compariſon of them all might
 throw great light on the religion, and, perhaps, on the hiſtory, of the
 primitive world.

ON
THE MUSICAL MODES
OF
THE HINDUS :

WRITTEN IN 1784, AND SINCE MUCH ENLARGED.

BY THE PRESIDENT.

MUSICK belongs, as a *Science*, to an interesting part of natural philosophy, which, by mathematical deductions from constant phenomena, explains the causes and properties of sound, limits the number of mixed, or *harmonick*, sounds to a certain series, which perpetually recurs, and fixes the ratio, which they bear to each other or to one leading term; but, considered as an *Art*, it combines the sounds, which philosophy distinguishes, in such a manner as to gratify our ears, or affect our imaginations, or, by uniting both objects, to captivate the fancy while it pleases the sense, and, speaking, as it were, the language of beautiful nature, to raise correspondent ideas and emotions in the mind of the hearer: it then, and then only, becomes what we call a *fine art*, allied very nearly to verse, painting, and rhetoric, but subordinate in its functions to pathetick poetry, and inferior in its power to genuine eloquence.

Thus it is the province of the *philosopher*, to discover the true direction and divergence of sound propagated by the successive compressions
and

and expansions of air, as the vibrating body advances and recedes; to show why sounds themselves may excite a tremulous motion in particular bodies, as in the known experiment of instruments tuned in unison; to demonstrate the law, by which all the particles of air, when it undulates with great quickness, are continually accelerated and retarded; to compare the number of pulses in agitated air with that of the vibrations, which cause them; to compute the velocities and intervals of those pulses in atmospheres of different density and elasticity; to account, as well as he can, for the affections, which musick produces; and, generally, to investigate the causes of the many wonderful appearances, which it exhibits: but the *artist*, without considering, and even without knowing, any of the sublime theorems in the philosophy of sound, may attain his end by a happy selection of *melodies* and *accents* adapted to passionate verse, and of *times* conformable to regular metre; and, above all, by *modulation*, or the choice and variation of those *modes*, as they are called, of which, as they are contrived and arranged by the *Hindus*, it is my design, and shall be my endeavour, to give you a general notion with all the perspicuity, that the subject will admit.

Although we must assign the first rank, transcendently and beyond all comparison, to that powerful musick, which may be denominated the sister of poetry and eloquence, yet the lower art of pleasing the sense by a succession of agreeable sounds, not only has merit and even charms, but may, I persuade myself, be applied on a variety of occasions to salutary purposes: whether, indeed, the sensation of hearing be caused, as many suspect, by the vibrations of an elastick ether flowing over the auditory nerves and propelled along their solid capillaments, or whether the fibres of our nerves, which seem indefinitely divisible, have, like the strings of a lute, peculiar vibrations proportioned to their length and degree of tension, we have not sufficient evidence to decide; but we are very sure, that the whole nervous system is affected in a singular manner

by

by combinations of sound, and that melody alone will often relieve the mind; when it is oppressed by intense application to business or study. The old musician, who rather figuratively, we may suppose, than with philosophical seriousness, *declared the soul itself to be nothing but harmony*, provoked the sprightly remark of CICERO, that *he drew his philosophy from the art, which he professed*; but if, without departing from his own art, he had merely described the human frame as the noblest and sweetest of musical instruments, endued with a natural disposition to resonance and sympathy, alternately affecting and affected by the soul, which pervades it, his description might, perhaps, have been physically just, and certainly ought not to have been hastily ridiculed: that any medical purpose may be fully answered by music, I dare not assert; but after food, when the operations of digestion and absorption give so much employment to the vessels, that a temporary state of mental repose must be found, especially in hot climates, essential to health, it seems reasonable to believe, that a few agreeable airs, either heard or played without effort, must have all the good effects of sleep and none of its disadvantages; *putting the soul in tune*, as MILTON says, for any subsequent exertion; an experiment, which has often been successfully made by myself, and which any one, who pleases, may easily repeat. Of what I am going to add, I cannot give equal evidence; but hardly know how to disbelieve the testimony of men, who had no system of their own to support, and could have no interest in deceiving me: first, I have been assured by a credible eye witness, that two wild antelopes used often to come from their woods to the place, where a more savage beast, SIRAJUDDAULAH, entertained himself with concerts, and that they listened to the strains with an appearance of pleasure, till the monster, in whose soul there was no music, shot one of them to display his archery: secondly, a learned native of this country told me, that he had frequently seen the most venomous and malignant snakes leave their holes, upon hearing tunes on a flute, which, as he supposed, gave them peculiar

peculiar delight; and, thirdly, an intelligent *Persian*, who repeated his story again and again, and permitted me to write it down from his lips, declared, he had more than once been present, when a celebrated lutanist, *Mirzá MOHAMMED*, surnamed *BULBUL*, was playing to a large company in a grove near *Sbirdz*, where he distinctly saw the nightingales trying to vie with the musician, sometimes warbling on the trees, sometimes fluttering from branch to branch, as if they wished to approach the instrument, whence the melody proceeded, and at length dropping on the ground in a kind of extasy, from which they were soon raised, he assured me, by a change of the mode.

The astonishing effects ascribed to musick by the old *Greeks*, and, in our days, by the *Chinese*, *Persians*, and *Indians*, have probably been exaggerated and embellished; nor, if such effects had been really produced, could they be imputed, I think, to the mere influence of sounds however combined or modified: it may, therefore, be suspected (not that the accounts are wholly fictitious, but) that such wonders were performed by musick in its largest sense, as it is now described by the *Hindus*, that is, by the union of *voices*, *instruments*, and *action*; for such is the complex idea conveyed by the word *Saṅgīta*, the simple meaning of which is no more than *symphony*; but most of the *Indian* books on this art consist accordingly of three parts, *gāna*, *vādyā*, *nrītya*, or *song*, *percussion*, and *dancing*; the first of which comprises the measures of poetry, the second extends to instrumental musick of all sorts, and the third includes the whole compass of theatrical representation. Now it may easily be conceived, that such an alliance, with the potent auxiliaries of distinct articulation, graceful gesture, and well adapted scenery, must have a strong general effect, and may, from particular associations, operate so forcibly on very sensible minds, as to excite copious tears, change the colour and countenance, heat or chill the blood, make the heart palpitate with violence, or even compel the hearer to start from his seat

feat with the look, speech, and actions of a man in a phrensy : the effect must be yet stronger, if the subject be *religious*, as that of the old *Indian* dramas, but great and small (I mean both regular plays in many acts and shorter dramattick pieces on *divine love*) seems in general to have been. In this way only can we attempt to account for the indubitable effects of the *great airs* and impassioned *recitative* in the modern *Italian* dramas, where three beautiful arts, like the Graces united in a dance, are together exhibited in a state of excellence, which the ancient world could not have surpassed and probably could not have equalled : an heroick opera of METASTASIO, set by PERGOLESI, or by some artist of his incomparable school, and represented at *Naples*, displays at once the perfection of human genius, awakens all the affections, and captivates the imagination at the same instant through all the senses.

When such aids, as a perfect theatre would afford, are not accessible, the power of musick must in proportion be less ; but it will ever be very considerable, if the words of the song be fine in themselves, and not only well translated into the language of melody, with a complete union of musical and rhetorical accents, but clearly pronounced by an accomplished singer, who feels what he sings, and fully understood by a hearer, who has passions to be moved ; especially if the composer has availed himself in his *translation* (for such may his composition very justly be called) of all those advantages, with which nature, ever sedulous to promote our innocent gratifications, abundantly supplies him. The first of those natural advantages is the variety of *modes*, or *manners*, in which the *seven* harmonick sounds are perceived to move in succession, as each of them takes the lead, and consequently bears a new relation to the six others. Next to the phenomenon of seven sounds perpetually circulating in a geometrical progression, according to the length of the strings or the number of their vibrations, every ear must be sensible, that two of the seven intervals in the complete series, or octave, whether we consider it as

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placed in a circular form, or in a right line with the first sound repeated, are much shorter than the five other intervals; and on these two phenomena the modes of the *Hindus* (who seem ignorant of our complicated harmony) are principally constructed. The longer intervals we shall call *tones*, and the shorter (in compliance with custom) *semitones*, without mentioning their exact ratios; and it is evident, that, as the *places* of the semitones admit *seven* variations relative to one fundamental sound, there are as many modes, which may be called *primary*; but we must not confound them with our modern modes, which result from the system of accords now established in *Europe*: they may rather be compared with those of the *Roman Church*, where some valuable remnants of old *Grecian* musick are preserved in the sweet, majestick, simple, and affecting strains of the Plain Song. Now, since each of the tones may be divided, we find *twelve* semitones in the whole series; and, since each semitone may in its turn become the leader of a series formed after the model of every primary mode, we have *seven* times *twelve*, or *eighty-four*, modes in all, of which *seventy-seven* may be named *secondary*; and we shall see accordingly that the *Persian* and the *Hindus* (at least in their most popular system) have exactly *eighty-four* modes, though distinguished by different appellations and arranged in different classes: but, since many of them are unpleasing to the ear, others difficult in execution, and few sufficiently marked by a character of sentiment and expression, which the higher musick always requires, the genius of the *Indians* has enabled them to retain the *number* of modes, which nature seems to have indicated, and to give each of them a character of its own by a happy and beautiful contrivance. Why any one series of sounds, the ratios of which are ascertained by observation and expressible by figures, should have a peculiar effect on the organ of hearing, and, by the auditory nerves, on the mind, will then only be known by mortals, when they shall know why each of the seven colours in the rainbow, where a proportion, analogous to that of musical sounds, most wonderfully prevails,

has

has a certain specifick effect on our eyes ; why the shades of green and blue, for instance, are soft and soothing, while those of red and yellow distress and dazzle the sight ; but, without striving to account for the phenomena, let us be satisfied with knowing, that some of the *modes* have distinct perceptible properties, and may be applied to the expression of various mental emotions ; a fact, which ought well to be considered by those performers, who would reduce them all to a dull uniformity, and sacrifice the true beauties of their art to an injudicious temperament.

The ancient *Greeks*, among whom this delightful art was long in the hands of poets, and of mathematicians, who had much less to do with it, ascribe almost all its magick to the diversity of their *Modes*, but have left us little more than the names of them, without such discriminations, as might have enabled us to compare them with our own, and apply them to practice : their writers addressed themselves to *Greeks*, who could not but know their national musick ; and most of those writers were professed men of science, who thought more of calculating ratios than of inventing melody ; so that, whenever we speak of the soft *Eolian* mode, of the tender *Lydian*, the voluptuous *Ionick*, the manly *Dorian*, or the animating *Phrygian*, we use mere phrases, I believe, without clear ideas. For all that is known concerning the musick of *Greece*, let me refer those, who have no inclination to read the dry works of the *Greeks* themselves, to a little tract of the learned WALLIS, which he printed as an appendix to the *Harmonicks* of *PTOLEMY* ; to the *Dictionary of Musick* by *ROUSSEAU*, whose pen, formed to elucidate all the arts, had the property of spreading light before it on the darkest subjects, as if he had written with phosphorus on the sides of a cavern ; and, lastly, to the dissertation of *Dr. BURNEY*, who, passing slightly over all that is obscure, explains with perspicuity whatever is explicable, and gives dignity to the character of a modern musician by uniting it with that of a scholar and philosopher.

The unexampled felicity of our nation, who diffuse the blessings of a mild government over the finest part of *India*, would enable us to attain a perfect knowledge of the oriental musick, which is known and practised in these *British* dominions not by mercenary performers only, but even by *Muselmans* and *Hindus* of eminent rank and learning: a native of *Cashán*, lately resident at *Mursheddábád*, had a complete acquaintance with the *Persian* theory and practice; and the best artists in *Hindustán* would cheerfully attend our concerts: we have an easy access to approved *Asiatick* treatises on musical composition, and need not lament with CHARDIN, that he neglected to procure at *Isfahan* the explanation of a small tract on that subject, which he carried to *Europe*: we may here examine the best instruments of *Asia*, may be masters of them, if we please, or at least may compare them with ours: the concurrent labours, or rather amusements, of several in our own body, may facilitate the attainment of correct ideas on a subject so delightfully interesting; and a free communication from time to time of their respective discoveries would conduct them more surely and speedily, as well as more agreeably, to their desired end. Such would be the advantages of union, or, to borrow a term from the art before us, of *harmonious accord*, in all our pursuits, and above all in that of knowledge.

On *Persian* musick, which is not the subject of this paper, it would be improper to enlarge: the whole system of it is explained in a celebrated collection of tracts on pure and mixed mathematicks, entitled *Durratun'Náj*, and composed by a very learned man, so generally called *Allámi Shírází*, or the great philosopher of *Shíráz*, that his proper name is almost forgotten; but, as the modern *Persians* had access, I believe, to PROLEMY's harmonicks, their mathematical writers on musick treat it rather as a science than as an art, and seem, like the *Greeks*, to be more intent on splitting tones into quarters and eighth parts, of which they compute the ratios to show their arithmetick, than on displaying the principles

principles of modulation, as it may affect the passions. I apply the same observation to a short, but masterly, tract of the famed ABU'SI'NA', and suspect that it is applicable to an elegant essay in *Persian*, called *Shamsu-lâfwât*, of which I have not had courage to read more than the preface. It will be sufficient to subjoin on this head, that the *Persians* distribute their *eighty-four* modes, according to an idea of locality, into twelve *rooms*, twenty-four *recesses*, and forty-eight *angles* or *corners*: in the beautiful tale, known by the title of the *Four Dervises*, originally written in *Persia* with great purity and elegance, we find the description of a concert, where four fingers, with as many different instruments, are represented “modulating in twelve *makams* or *perdubs*, twenty-four *shôbabs*, “ and forty-eight *gûshas*, and beginning a mirthful song of HA'FIZ, on “ vernal delight in the *perdab* named *râst*, or direct.” All the twelve *perdabs*, with their appropriated *shôbabs*, are enumerated by AMI'N, a writer and musician of *Hindustân*, who mentions an opinion of the learned, that only *seven* primary modes were in use before the reign of PARVI'Z, whose musical entertainments are magnificently described by the incomparable NIZA'MI: the modes are chiefly denominated, like those of the *Greeks* and *Hindus*, from different regions or towns; as, among the *perdabs*, we see *Hijâz*, *Irâk*, *Isfahân*: and, among the *shôbabs*, or secondary modes, *Zâbul*, *Nîshâpûr*, and the like. In a *Sanscrit* book, which shall soon be particularly mentioned, I find the scale of a mode, named *Hijêja*, specified in the following verse:

Mâns'agraba sa nyâsô'c'bilô hijêjastu sâyâhnê.

The name of this mode is not *Indian*; and, if I am right in believing it a corruption of *Hijâz*, which could hardly be written otherwise in the *Nâgari* letters, we must conclude, that it was imported from *Persia*: we have discovered then a *Persian* or *Arabian* mode with this diapason,

D, E, F \sharp , G \sharp , A, B, C \sharp , D;

where

where the first semitone appears between the *fourth* and *fifth* notes, and the second between the *seventh* and *eighth*; as in the natural scale *Fa, sol, la, si, ut, re, mi, fa*: but the *C#*, and *G#*, or *ga* and *ni* of the *Indian* author, are variously *changed*, and probably the series may be formed in a manner not very different (though certainly there is a diversity) from our major mode of *D*. This melody must necessarily end with the *fifth* note from the tonic, and begin with the tonic itself; and it would be a gross violation of musical decorum in *India*, to sing it at any time except at the close of day: these rules are comprized in the verse above cited; but the species of octave is arranged according to Mr. FOWKE's remarks on the *Vinā*, compared with the fixed *Swaragrāma*, or gamut, of all the *Hindu* musicians.

Let us proceed to the *Indian* system, which is minutely explained, in a great number of *Sanscrit* books, by authors, who leave arithmetick and geometry to their astronomers, and properly discourse on musick as an art confined to the pleasures of imagination. The *Pandits* of this province unanimously prefer the *Dāmódara* to any of the popular *Sangītas*; but I have not been able to procure a good copy of it, and am perfectly satisfied with the *Nārāyan*, which I received from *Benares*, and in which the *Dāmódar* is frequently quoted. The *Persian* book, entitled *a Present from INDIA*, was composed, under the patronage of AAZEM SHA'H, by the very diligent and ingenious MIRZA KHAN, and contains a minute account of *Hindu* literature in all, or most of, its branches: he professes to have extracted his elaborate chapter on musick, with the assistance of *Pandits* from the *Rāgārnava*, or Sea of Passions, the *Rāgaderpana*, or Mirror of Modes, the *Sabbāvinóda*, or Delight of Assemblies, and some other approved treatises in *Sanscrit*. The *Sangītaderpan*, which he also names among his authorities, has been translated into *Persian*; but my experience justifies me in pronouncing, that the *Moghols* have no idea of accurate *translation*, and give that name to a mixture of gloss and text with

with a flimsy paraphrase of them both ; that they are wholly unable, yet always pretend, to write *Sanscrit* words in *Arabick* letters ; that a man, who knows the *Hindus* only from *Persian* books, does not know the *Hindus* ; and that an *European*, who follows the muddy rivulets of *Muselman* writers on *India*, instead of drinking from the pure fountain of *Hindu* learning, will be in perpetual danger of misleading himself and others. From the just severity of this censure I except neither ABU'LFAZL, nor his brother FAIZ'I, nor MOHSANI FA'N'I, nor MIRZA'KH'AN himself ; and I speak of all four after an attentive perusal of their works. A tract on musick in the idiom of *Mat'burà*, with several essays in pure *Hindustànì*, lately passed through my hands ; and I possess a dissertation on the same art in the soft dialect of *Panjáb*, or *Panchanada*, where the national melody has, I am told, a peculiar and striking character ; but I am very little acquainted with those dialects, and persuade myself, that nothing has been written in them, which may not be found more copiously and beautifully expressed in the *language*, as the *Hindus* perpetually call it, *of the Gods*, that is, of their ancient bards, philosophers, and legislators.

The most valuable work, that I have seen, and perhaps the most valuable that exists, on the subject of *Indian* musick, is named *Rágavibódha*, or *The Doctrine of Musical Modes* ; and it ought here to be mentioned very particularly, because none of the *Pandits*, in our provinces, nor any of those from *Cáshì* or *Cashmír*, to whom I have shown it, appear to have known that it was extant ; and it may be considered as a treasure in the history of the art, which the zeal of Colonel POLIER has brought into light, and perhaps has preserved from destruction. He had purchased, among other curiosities, a volume containing a number of separate essays on musick in prose and verse, and in a great variety of idioms : besides tracts in *Arabick*, *Hindi*, and *Persian*, it included a short essay in *Latin* by ALSTEDIUS, with an interlineary *Persian* translation, in which the
passages

passages quoted from LUCRETIVS and VIRGIL made a singular appearance; but the brightest gem in the string was the *Rāgavibōdha*, which the Colonel permitted my *Nāgari* writer to transcribe, and the transcript was diligently collated with the original by my *Pandit* and myself. It seems a very ancient composition, but is less old unquestionably than the *Ratna-cāra* by SA'RNA DE'VA, which is more than once mentioned in it, and a copy of which Mr. BURROW procured in his journey to *Heridwar*: the name of the author was SO'MA, and he appears to have been a practical musician as well as a great scholar and an elegant poet; for the whole book, without excepting the strains noted in letters, which fill the fifth and last chapter of it, consists of masterly couplets in the melodious metre called *A'ryā*; the *first*, *third*, and *fourth* chapters explain the doctrine of musical sounds, their division and succession, the variations of scales by temperament, and the enumeration of modes on a system totally different from those, which will presently be mentioned; and the *second* chapter contains a minute description of different *Vīnās* with rules for playing on them. This book alone would enable me, were I master of my time, to compose a treatise on the musick of *India*, with assistance, in the practical part, from an *European* professor and a native player on the *Vīna*; but I have leisure only to present you with an essay, and even that, I am conscious, must be very superficial: it may be sometimes, but, I trust, not often, erroneous; and I have spared no pains to secure myself from error.

In the literature of the *Hindus* all nature is animated and personified; every fine art is declared to have been revealed from heaven; and all knowledge, divine and human, is traced to its source in the *Vēdas*; among which the *Sāmavēda* was intended to be sung, whence the reader, or singer of it is called *Udgātri* or *Sāmaga*: in Colonel POLIER'S copy of it the strains are noted in figures, which it may not be impossible to decypher. On account of this distinction, say the *Brāhmens*, the *supreme preserving*

preserving power, in the form of CRISHNA, having enumerated in the *Gîtâ* various orders of beings, to the chief of which he compares himself, pronounces, that “*among the Védas he was the Sáman.*” From that *Véda* was accordingly derived the *Upavéda* of the *Gandharbas*, or musicians in INDRA’S heaven; so that the divine art was communicated to our species by BRAHMA’ himself or by his *active power* SERESWATI’, the Goddess of Speech; and their mythological son NA’RED, who was in truth an ancient lawgiver and astronomer, invented the *Vînâ*, called also *Cack’bapî*, or *Testudo*; a very remarkable fact, which may be added to the other proofs of a resemblance between that *Indian God*, and the MERCURY of the *Latians*. Among inspired mortals the first musician is believed to have been the sage BHERAT, who was the inventor, they say, of *Nátacs*, or dramas, represented with songs and dances, and author of a musical system, which bears his name. If we can rely on MÍRZA-KHA’N, there are four principal *Matas*, or systems, the first of which is ascribed to ISWARA, or OSIRIS; the second to BHERAT; the third to HANUMAT, or PA’VAN, the PAN of *India*, supposed to be the son of PAVANA, the regent of air; and the fourth to CALLINA’T’H, a *Rîshî*, or *Indian philosopher*, eminently skilled in musick, theoretical and practical: all four are mentioned by SO’MA; and it is the *third* of them, which must be very ancient, and seems to have been extremely popular, that I propose to explain after a few introductory remarks; but I may here observe with SO’MA, who exhibits a system of his own, and with the author of the *Nárdyan*, who mentions a great many others, that almost every kingdom and province had a peculiar style of melody, and very different names for the modes, as well as a different arrangement and enumeration of them.

The two phenomena, which have already been stated as the foundation of musical modes, could not long have escaped the attention of the *Hindus*, and their flexible language readily supplied them with names

for the seven *Swaras*, or sounds, which they dispose in the following order, *śhādja*, pronounced *śharja*, *riśhabha*, *gāndhāra*, *madhyama*, *pañchama*, *dhāivata*, *niśāda*; but the first of them is emphatically named *śwara*, or the *sound*, from the important office, which it bears in the scale; and hence, by taking the seven *initial letters* or syllables of those words, they contrived a notation for their airs, and at the same time exhibited a gamut, at least as convenient as that of GUIDO: they call it *śwaragrāma* or *śeptaca*, and express it in this form:

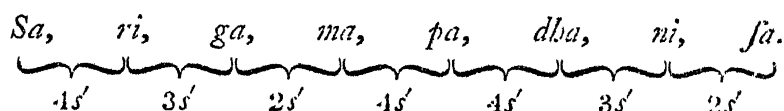
Sa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni,

three of which syllables are, by a singular concurrence exactly the same; though not all in the same places, with three of those invented by DAVID MOSTARE, as a substitute for the troublesome gamut used in his time; and which he arranges thus:

Bo, ce, di, ga, lo, ma, ni.

As to the notation of melody, since every *Indian* consonant includes by its nature the short vowel *a*, five of the sounds are denoted by single consonants, and the two others have different short vowels taken from their full names; by substituting long vowels, the *time* of each note is doubled, and other marks are used for a farther elongation of them; the octaves above and below the mean scale, the connection and acceleration of notes, the graces of execution or manners of fingering the instrument, are expressed very clearly by small circles and ellipses, by little chains, by curves, by straight lines horizontal or perpendicular, and by crescents, all in various positions: the close of a strain is distinguished by a lotos-flower; but the time and measure are determined by the prosody of the verse and by the comparative length of each syllable, with which every note or assemblage of notes respectively corresponds. If I understand the native musicians, they have not only the *chromatick*, but even the second, or new, *enharmonic*, genus; for they unanimously reckon twenty-two *śrutis*, or quarters and thirds of a tone, in their octave: they do not pretend that those minute intervals are mathematically equal, but consider them

them as equal in practice, and allot them to the several notes in the following order; to *śa*, *mā*, and *pā*, four; to *ri* and *dha*, three; to *ga* and *nī*, two; giving very smooth and significant names to each *śruti*. Their original scale, therefore, stands thus,



The semitones accordingly are placed as in our diatonick scale: the intervals between the fourth and fifth, and between the first and second, are major tones; but that between the fifth and sixth, which is minor in our scale, appears to be major in theirs; and the two scales are made to coincide by taking a *śruti* from *pā* and adding it to *dha*, or, in the language of *Indian* artists, by raising *Servaretnā* to the class of *Sāntā* and her sisters; for every *śruti* they consider as a little nymph, and the nymphs of *Panchama*, or the *fifth* note, are *Mālinī*, *Chapalā*, *Lōlā*, and *Servaretnā*, while *Sāntā* and her two sisters regularly belong to *Dbai-vata*: such at least is the system of CO'HALA, one of the ancient bards, who has left a treatise on musick.

SO'MA seems to admit, that a quarter or third of a tone cannot be separately and distinctly heard from the *Vinā*; but he takes for granted, that its effect is very perceptible in their arrangement of modes; and their sixth, I imagine, is almost universally diminished by one *śruti*; for he only mentions two modes, in which all the seven notes are *unaltered*. I tried in vain to discover any difference in practice between the *Indian* scale, and that of our own; but, knowing my ear to be very insufficiently exercised, I requested a *German* professor of musick to accompany with his violin a *Hindu* lutanist, who sung *by note* some popular airs on the loves of CRISHNA and RA'DHĀ; he assured me, that the scales were the same; and Mr. SHORE afterwards informed me, that,

that, when the voice of a native singer was in tune with his harpsichord, he found the *Hindu* series of seven notes to ascend, like ours, by a sharp third.

For the construction and character of the *Vinà*, I must refer you to the very accurate and valuable paper of Mr. FOWKE in the first volume of your Transactions; and I now exhibit a scale of its finger board, which I received from him with the drawing of the instrument, and on the correctness of which you may confidently depend: the regular *Indian* gamut answers, I believe pretty nearly to our major mode:

Ut, re, mi, fa, sol, la, si, ut,

and, when the same syllables are applied to the notes, which compose our minor mode, they are distinguished by epithets expressing the change, which they suffer. It may be necessary to add, before we come to the *Rāgas*, or modes of the *Hindus*, that the twenty-one *murch'banas*, which Mr. SHORE's native musician confounded with the two and twenty *s'rutis*, appear to be no more than *seven* species of diapason multiplied by *three*, according to the difference of pitch in the compass of three octaves.

Rāga which I translate a *mode*, properly signifies a *passion* or *affection* of the mind, each mode being intended, according to BHERAT's definition of it, to move one or another of our simple or mixed affections; and we learn accordingly from the *Nārāyan*, that, in the days of CRISHNA, there were *sixteen thousand* modes, each of the *Gópis* at *Mat'burà* chusing to sing in one of them, in order to captivate the heart of their pastoral God. The very learned SO'MA, who mixes no mythology with his accurate system of *Rāgas*, enumerates *nine hundred and sixty* possible variations by the means of temperament, but selects from them, as applicable to practice, only *twenty-three* primary modes, from which he deduces many others; though he allows, that, by a diversity of ornament and by various contrivances, the *Rāgas* might, like



like the waves of the sea, be multiplied to an infinite number. We have already observed, that *eighty-four modes* or *manners*, might naturally be formed by giving the lead to each of our *twelve* sounds, and varying in *seven* different ways the position of the semitones; but, since many of those modes would be insufferable in practice, and some would have no character sufficiently marked, the *Indians* appear to have retained with predilection the number indicated by nature, and to have enforced their system by two powerful aids, the *association of ideas*, and the *mutilation of the regular scales*.

Whether it had occurred to the *Hindu* musicians, that the velocity or slowness of sounds must depend, in a certain ratio, upon the rarefaction and condensation of the air, so that their motion must be quicker in summer than in spring or autumn, and much quicker than in winter, I cannot assure myself; but am persuaded, that their primary modes, in the system ascribed to PA'VANA, were first arranged according to the number of *Indian* seasons.

The year is distributed by the *Hindus* into six *ritus*, or seasons, each consisting of two months; and the first season, according to the *Amar-côsha*, began with *Mârgaśīrsha*, near the time of the winter solstice, to which month accordingly we see CRISHNA compared in the *Gîtâ*; but the old lunar year began, I believe, with *A'swina*, or near the autumnal equinox, when the moon was at the full in the first mansion: hence the musical season, which takes the lead, includes the months of *A'swin* and *Cârtic*, and bears the name of *Sarad*, corresponding with part of our autumn; the next in order are *Hémanta* and *Sis'ira*, derived from words, which signify *frost* and *dew*; then come *Vasanta*, or spring, called also *Surabhi* or fragrant, and *Pushpāsamaya*, or the flower time; *Grishma*, or heat; and *Verṣā*, or the season of rain. By appropriating a different mode to each of the different seasons, the artists of *India* connected certain

certain strains with certain ideas, and were able to recal the memory of autumnal merriment at the close of the harvest, or of separation and melancholy (very different from our ideas at *Calcutta*) during the cold months; of reviving hilarity on the appearance of blossoms, and complete vernal delight in the month of *Madhu* or *honey*; of languor during the dry heats, and of refreshment by the first rains, which cause in this climate a second spring. Yet farther: since the lunar year, by which festivals and superstitious duties are constantly regulated, proceeds concurrently with the solar year, to which the seasons are necessarily referred, *devotion* comes also to the aid of musick, and all the *powers of nature*, which are allegorically worshipped as gods and goddesses on their several holidays, contribute to the influence of song on minds naturally susceptible of religious emotions. Hence it was, I imagine, that PA'VAN, or the inventor of his musical system, reduced the number of original modes from *seven* to *six*; but even this was not enough for his purpose; and he had recourse to the *five* principal divisions of the day, which are the *morning*, *noon*, and *evening*, called *trishandhya*, with the two intervals between them, or the *forenoon* and *afternoon*: by adding *two* divisions, or intervals, of the night, and by leaving one species of melody without any such restriction, SO'MA reckons *eight* variations in respect of time; and the system of PA'VAN retains that number also in the second order of derivative modes. Every branch of knowledge in this country has been embellished by poetical fables; and the inventive talents of the *Greeks* never suggested a more charming allegory than the lovely families of the six *Rágas*, named, in the order of seasons above exhibited, BHAIKAVA, MA'LAVA, SRÍ'RA'GA, HINDOLA or VASANTA, DI'PACA, and ME'GHA; each of whom is a Genius, or Demigod, wedded to five *Ráginis*, or Nymphs, and father of *eight* little Genii, called his *Putras*, or Sons: the fancy of SHAKSPEARE and the pencil of ALBANO might have been finely employed in giving speech and form to this assemblage of new ærial beings, who people the fairy-land

and of *Indian* imagination; nor have the *Hindu* poets and painters lost the advantages, with which so beautiful a subject presented them. A whole chapter of the *Nārāyan* contains descriptions of the *Rāgas* and their comforts, extracted chiefly from the *Dāmōdar*, the *Calāncura*, the *Retnamālā*, the *Chandricā*, and a metrical tract on musick ascribed to the God NA'RED himself, from which, as among so many beauties a particular selection would be very perplexing, I present you with the first that occurs, and have no doubt, that you will think the *Sanscrit* language equal to *Italian* in softness and elegance:

Līlā viharēna vanāntarālē,
Chinvan prasūnāni vadhū sahāyali,
Vilāsi vésōdita divya mūrtih
Srīrāga ēsha prat'hitah prit'hivyām.

The demigod SRI'RA'GA, famed over all this earth, sweetly sports with his nymphs, gathering fresh blossoms in the bosom of your grove; and his divine lineaments are distinguished through his graceful vesture."

These and similar images, but wonderfully diversified, are expressed in variety of measures, and represented by delicate pencils in the *Rāga-rālas*, which all of us have examined, and among which the most beautiful are in the possession of Mr. R. JOHNSON and Mr. HAY. A noble work might be composed by any musician and scholar, who enjoyed leisure and disregarded expence, if he would exhibit a perfect system of *Indian* musick from *Sanscrit* authorities, with the old melodies of SO'MA applied to the songs of JAYADE'VA, embellished with descriptions of all the modes accurately translated, and with Mr. HAY's *Rāgamālā* delineated and engraved by the scholars of CIPRIANI and BARTOLOZZI.

Let us proceed to the second artifice of the *Hindu* musicians, in giving their modes a distinct character and a very agreeable diversity of expression. A curious passage from PLUTARCH's treatise on Musick is translated and explained by Dr. BURNEY, and stands as the text of the most interesting chapter in his dissertation: since I cannot procure the original, I exhibit a paraphrase of his translation, on the correctness of which I can rely; but I have avoided, as much as possible, the technical words of the *Greeks*, which it might be necessary to explain at some length. "We are informed, says PLUTARCH, by ARISTOXENUS, that musicians ascribe to OLYMPUS of *Myfia* the invention of *enharmonick* melody, and conjecture, that, when he was playing diatonically on his flute, and frequently passed from the highest of four sounds to the lowest but one, or conversely, skipping over the second in descent, or the third in ascent, of that series, he perceived a singular beauty of expression, which induced him to dispose the whole series of seven or eight sounds by similar skips, and to frame by the same analogy his *Dorian* mode, omitting every sound *peculiar* to the diatonick and chromatick melodies then in use, but without adding any that have since been made essential to the *new* enharmonick: in this genus, they say, he composed the Nome, or strain, called *Spondean*, because it was used in temples at the time of religious *libations*. Those, it seems, were the *first* enharmonick melodies; and are still retained by some, who play on the flute in the antique style without any division of a semitone; for it was after the age of OLYMPUS, that the quarter of a tone was admitted into the *Lydian* and *Phrygian* modes; and it was he, therefore, who, by introducing an exquisite melody before unknown in *Greece*, became the author and parent of the most beautiful and affecting musick."

This method then of adding to the character and effect of a mode by diminishing the number of its primitive sounds, was introduced by a
Greek

Greek of the lower *Asia*, who flourished, according to the learned and accurate writer of the *Travels of ANACHARSIS*, about the middle of the *thirteenth* century before *CHRIST*; but it must have been older still among the *HINDUS*, if the system, to which I now return, was actually invented in the age of *RA'MA*.

Since it appears from the *Nārāyan*, that *thirty-six* modes are in general use, and the rest very rarely applied to practice, I shall exhibit only the scales of the six *Rāgas* and thirty *Rāginis*, according to *SO'MA*, the authors quoted in the *Nārāyan*, and the books explained by *Pandits* to *MIRZA'KHA'N*; on whose credit I must rely for that of *Cacubhá*, which I cannot find in my *Sanscrit* treatises on music: had I depended on him for information of greater consequence, he would have led me into a very serious mistake; for he asserts, what I now find erroneous, that the *graba* is the first note of every mode, with which every song, that is composed in it, must invariably begin *and end*. Three distinguished sounds in each mode are called *graba*, *nyāsa*, *ansa*, and the writer of the *Nārāyan* defines them in the two following couplets:

Graba swarah sa ityuctó yó gítādaṁ samarpitah,
Nyāsa swaraṣṭu sa próctó yó gítādi samápticah :
 Yó vyaaktivyanjacò gánè, yasya fervé' nugáminah,
 Yasya fervatra bāhulyam vādy *ans'o* pi nrīpótamah.

The note, called *graba*, is placed at the beginning, and that named *nyāsa*, at the end, of a song: that note, which displays the peculiar melody, and to which all the others are subordinate, that, which is always of the greatest use, is like a sovereign, though a mere *ansa*, or portion."

" By the word *vādi*, says the commentator, he means the note, which

“ announces and ascertains the *Rāga*, and which may be considered as
 “ the parent and origin of the *graba* and *nyāśa*:” this clearly shows, I
 think, that the *ans'a* must be the tonic; and we shall find, that the
 two other notes are generally its third and fifth, or the mediant and the
 dominant. In the poem entitled *Māgha* there is a musical simile, which
 may illustrate and confirm our idea:

Anatpatwāt pradhānatwād ans'asyévétaraśwarāh,
 Vijigīśhórnrīpatayah prayānti perichāratām.

“ From the greatness, from the transcendent qualities, of that Hero
 “ eager for conquest, other kings march in subordination to him, as
 “ other notes are subordinate to the *ans'a*.”

If the *ans'a* be the tonic, or modal note, of the *Hindus*, we may confidently exhibit the scales of the *Indian* modes, according to SO'MA, denoting by an asterisk the omission of a note.

BHAIRAVA:	{	dha,	ni,	fa,	ri,	ga,	ma,	pa.
Varāti:	{	fa,	ri,	ga,	ma,	pa,	dha,	ni.
Medhyamādi:	{	ma,	pa,	*	ni,	fa,	*	ga.
Bhairavī:	{	fa,	ri,	ga,	ma,	pa,	dha,	ni.
Saindhavī:	{	fa,	ri,	*	ma,	pa,	dha,	*
Bengālī:	{	fa,	ri,	ga,	ma,	pa,	dha,	ni.
MA'LAVA:	{	ni,	fa,	ri,	ga,	ma,	pa,	dha.
Tōdī:	{	ga,	ma,	pa,	dha,	ni,	fa,	ri.
Gaudī:	{	ni,	fa,	ri,	*	ma,	pa,	*
Gōndācrī:	{	fa,	ri,	ga,	ma,	pa,	*	ni.
Sufī hāvātī:								not in SO'MA.
Cacubbā:								not in SO'MA.

SRIRĀGA:

SRIRA'GA :	{	ni,	fa,	ri,	ga,	ma,	pa,	dba.
Málava's'ri :		fa,	*	ga,	ma,	pa,	*	ni.
Máravì :		ga,	ma,	pa,	*	ni,	fa,	*
Dhanyàsì :		fa,	*	ga,	ma,	pa,	*	ni.
Vasanti :		fa,	ri,	ga,	ma,	*	dha,	ni.
Asáverì :		ma,	pa,	dha,	ni,	fa,	ri,	ga.
HINDO'LA :		ma,	*	dha,	ni,	fa,	*	ga.
Rámacrì :		fa,	ri,	ga,	ma,	pa,	dha,	ni.
Dés'ácfbì :		ga,	ma,	pa,	dba,	*	fa,	ri.
Lelità :		fa,	ri,	ga,	ma,	*	dha,	ni.
Vélávalì :		dba,	ni,	fa,	*	ga,	ma,	*
Patamanjarì :		not in SO'MA.						
D'IPACA :		not in SO'MA.						
Dés'ì :	{	ri,	*	ma,	pa,	dha,	ni,	fa.
Cámbódì :		fa,	ri,	ga,	ma,	pa,	dba,	*
Nettà :		fa,	ri,	ga,	ma,	pa,	dba,	ni.
Cédarì :		ni,	fa,	ri,	ga,	ma,	pa,	dha.
Carnátì :		ni,	fa,	*	ga,	ma,	pa,	*
ME'GHA :		not in SO'MA.						
Taccà :	{	fa,	ri,	ga,	ma,	pa,	dha,	ni.
Mellàrì :		dba,	*	fa,	ri,	*	ma,	pa.
Gurjarì :		ri,	ga,	ma,	*	dha,	ni,	fa.
Bhúpálì :		ga,	*	pa,	dba,	*	fa,	ri.
Défacrì :		fa,	ri,	ga,	ma,	pa,	dha,	ni.

It is impossible, that I should have erred much, if at all, in the preceding table, because the regularity of the *San scrit* metre has in general enabled me to correct the manuscript; but I have some doubt as to *Vélávali*, of which *pa* is declared to be the *ans'a* or tonick, though it is said in the same line, that both *pa* and *ri* may be omitted: I, therefore, have supposed *dba* to be the true reading, both MIRZAKHAN and the *Náráyan* exhibiting that note as the leader of the mode. The notes printed in

Italic

Italick letters are variously *changed* by temperament or by shakes and other graces; but, even if I were able to give you in words a distinct notion of those changes, the account of each mode would be insufferably tedious, and scarce intelligible without the assistance of a masterly performer on the *Indian* lyre. According to the best authorities adduced in the *Nārāyan*, the thirty-six modes are, in some provinces, arranged in these forms:

BHAIRAVA:	{	dha,	ni,	fa,	ri,	ga,	ma,	pa.
<i>Varāti</i> :		fa,	ri,	ga,	ma,	pa,	dha,	ni.
<i>Medhyamādi</i> :		ni,	fa,	*	ga,	ma,	pa,	dha.
<i>Bhairavī</i> :		fa,	*	ga,	ma,	*	dha,	ni.
<i>Saindhavī</i> :		pa,	dha,	ni,	fa,	ri,	ga,	ma.
<i>Bengālī</i> :		fa,	ri,	ga,	ma,	pa,	dha,	ni.
MA'LAVA:	{	ma,	*	dha,	ni,	fa,	ri,	ga.
<i>Tōdī</i> :		ma,	pa,	dha,	ni,	fa,	ri,	ga.
<i>Gaudī</i> :		ni,	fa,	ri,	ga,	ma,	*	dha.
<i>Gondacri</i> :		fa,	*	ga,	ma,	pa,	*	ni.
<i>Suṣṭhāvatī</i> :		dha,	ni,	fa,	ri,	ga,	ma,	*
<i>Cacubhā</i> :		not in the <i>Nārāyan</i> .						
SRI'RA'GA:	{	fa,	ri,	ga,	ma,	pa,	dha,	ni.
<i>Mālavasrī</i> :		fa,	ri,	ga,	ma,	pa,	dha,	ni.
<i>Māravī</i> :		fa,	*	ga,	ma,	pa,	dha,	ni.
<i>Dhanyāsī</i> :		fa,	ri,	ga,	ma,	pa,	dha,	ni.
<i>Vasanti</i> :		fa,	ri,	ga,	ma,	pa,	dha,	ni.
<i>Aśaverī</i> :		ri,	ga,	ma,	pa,	dha,	ni,	fa.
HINDO'LA:	{	fa,	*	ga,	ma,	*	dha,	ni.
<i>Rāmacrī</i> :		fa,	ri,	ga,	ma,	pa,	dha,	ni.
<i>Désācshī</i> :		ga,	ma,	pa,	dha,	ni,	fa,	*
<i>Lalitā</i> :		fa,	*	ga,	ma,	pa,	*	ni.
<i>Vélāvalī</i> :		dha,	ni,	fa,	ri,	ga,	ma,	pa.
<i>Patamanjarī</i> :		pa,	dha,	ni,	fa,	ri,	ga,	ma.

DI'PACA :	omitted.						
Dési :	{	ni,	fa,	ri,	ga,	ma,	pa, dha.
Cámbódì :		fa,	ri,	ga,	ma,	pa,	dha, ni.
Nettà :		fa,	ri,	ga,	ma,	pa,	dha, ni.
Céddarì :	omitted.						
Carnàtì :	{	ni,	fa,	ri,	ga,	ma,	pa, dha.
ME'GHA :		dha,	ni,	fa,	ri,	ga,	ma, pa.
Taccà :		(a mixed mode.)					
Mellùri :	{	dha,	ni,	*	ri,	ga,	ma, *.
Gurjarì :		omitted in the <i>Náráyan</i> .					
Bhúpálì :		fa,	ri,	ga,	*	pa,	dha, *.
Désacrì :	{	ni,	fa,	*	ga,	ma,	pa, *.

Among the scales just enumerated we may safely fix on that of SRI'-RA'GA for our own major mode, since its form and character are thus described in a *Sanskrit* couplet :

Játinyálagrahagrámáns'ésu shádjò' *lpapanchamah*,
 Sríngarávirayórnéyah *Srírága* gítacóvidaih.

' Musicians know *Srírága* to have *fa* for its principal note and the first
 ' of its scale, with *pa* diminished, and to be used for expressing heroick
 ' love and valour." Now the diminution of *pa* by one *s'ruti* gives us
 the modern *European* scale,

ut, re, mi, fa, sol, la, si, ut.

with a minor tone, or, as the *Indians* would express it, with three *s'rutis*,
 between the fifth and sixth notes.

On the formulas exhibited by MI'RZAKHA'N I have less reliance ;
 but, since he professes to give them from *Sanskrit* authorities, it seemed
 proper to transcribe them :

BHAIRAVA :

BHAIRAVA :	dha, ni, fa, *, ga, ma, *.
<i>Varāṭi</i> :	fa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni.
<i>Medhyamādi</i> :	ma, pa, dha, ni, fa, ri, ga.
<i>Bhairavī</i> :	ma, pa, dha, ni, fa, ri, ga.
<i>Saindhavī</i> :	fa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni.
<i>Bengālī</i> :	fa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni.
MA'LAVA :	fa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni.
<i>Tōḍī</i> :	fa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni.
<i>Gaudī</i> :	fa, *, ga, ma, *, dha, ni.
<i>Gōndacrī</i> :	ni, fa, *, ga, ma, pa, *.
<i>Suṣṭ'bhavati</i> :	dha, ni, fa, ri, ga, ma, *.
<i>Cacubbā</i> :	dha, ni, fa, ri, ga, ma, pa.
SRI'RA'GA :	fa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni.
<i>Mālavasrī</i> :	fa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni.
<i>Māravī</i> :	fa, *, pa, ga, ma, dha, ni.
<i>Dhanyāsī</i> :	fa, pa, dha, ni, ri, ga, *.
<i>Vasantī</i> :	fa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni.
<i>A'saverī</i> :	dha, ni, fa, *, *, ma, pa.
HINDOLA :	fa, *, ga, ma, pa, *, ni.
<i>Rāmacrī</i> :	fa, *, ga, ma, pa, *, ni.
<i>Dés'ācshī</i> :	ga, ma, pa, dha, ni, fa, *.
<i>Lelitā</i> :	dha, ni, fa, *, ga, ma, *.
<i>Vélavālī</i> :	dha, ni, fa, ri, ga, ma, pa.
<i>Patamanjarī</i> :	pa, dha, ni, fa, ri, ga, ma.
DIPACA :	fa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni.
<i>Désī</i> :	ri, ga, ma, *, dha, ni, fa.
<i>Cambōdī</i> :	dha, ni, fa, ri, ga, ma, pa.
<i>Netta</i> :	fa, ni, dha, pa, ma, ga, ri.
<i>Cédari</i> :	ni, fa, *, ga, ma, pa, *.
<i>Carnatī</i> :	ni, fa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha.

MEGHA :

MEGHA :	dha,	ni,	fa,	ri,	ga,	*,	*
Tacca :	fa,	ri,	ga,	ma,	pa,	dha,	ni.
Mellari :	dha,	ni,	*	ri,	ga,	ma,	*
Gurjari :	ri,	ga,	ma,	pa,	dha,	ni,	fa.
Bhūpali :	fa,	ga,	ma,	dha,	ni,	pa,	ri.
Dīśacrī :	fa,	ri,	ga,	ma,	pa,	dha,	ni.

It may reasonably be suspected, that the *Moghol* writer could not have shown the distinction, which must necessarily have been made, between the different modes, to which he assigns the same formula; and, as to his versions of the notes in some of the *Rāginis*, I can only say, that no such changes appear in the *Sanscrit* books, which I have inspected. I leave our scholars and musicians to find, among the scales here exhibited, the *Dorian* mode of OLYMPUS; but it cannot escape notice, that the *Chinese* scale C, D, E, *, G, A, *, corresponds very nearly with *ga, ma, pa, *, ni, fa, **, or the *Māravī* of SO'MA: we have long known in *Bengal*, from the information of a *Scotch* gentleman skilled in musick, that the wild, but charming melodies of the ancient highlanders were formed by a similar mutilation of the natural scale. By such mutilations, and by various alterations of the notes in tuning the *Vinā*, the number of modes might be augmented indefinitely; and CALLISTO, admits *ninety* into his system, allowing *six* nymphs, instead of *five*, to each of his musical deities: for *Dīpaca*, which is generally considered as a lost mode (though MI'RZA'KHAN exhibits the notes of it), he substitutes *Panchama*; for *Hinlōla*, he gives us *Vasanta*, or the spring; and for *Mālava*, *Natanārdayan* or CRISHNA the Dancer; all with scales rather different from those of PA'VAN. The system of ISWARA, which may have had some affinity with the old *Egyptian* musick invented or improved by OSIRIS, nearly resembles that of HANUMAT, but the names and scales are a little varied: in all the systems, the names of the modes are significant, and some of them as fanciful as those of the fairies

fairies in the Midsummer Night's Dream. Forty-eight new modes were added by BHERAT, who *marries* a nymph, thence called *Bhàryà*, to each *Putra*, or Son, of a *Râga*; thus admitting, in his musical school, an *hundred and thirty-two manners* of arranging the series of notes.

Had the *Indian* empire continued in full energy for the last two thousand years, religion would, no doubt, have given permanence to systems of musick invented, as the *Hindus* believe, by their Gods, and adapted to mystical poetry : but such have been the revolutions of their government since the time of ALEXANDER, that, although the *Sanscrit* books have preserved the theory of their musical composition, the practice of it seems almost wholly lost (as all the *Pandits* and *Râjâs* confess) in *Gaur* and *Magarha*, or the provinces of *Bengal* and *Behar*. When I first read the songs of JAYADE'VA, who has prefixed to each of them the name of the mode, in which it was anciently sung, I had hopes of procuring the original musick ; but the *Pandits* of the south referred me to those of the west, and the *Brâhmens* of the west would have sent me to those of the north ; while they, I mean those of *Népâl* and *Cashmîr*, declared that they had no ancient musick, but imagined, that the notes to the *Gîtâgô-vinda* must exist, if any where, in one of the southern provinces, where the Poet was born : from all this I collect, that the art, which flourished in *India* many centuries ago, has faded for want of due culture, though some scanty remnants of it may, perhaps, be preserved in the pastoral roundelays of *Mat'burâ* on the loves and sports of the *Indian* APOLLO. We must not, therefore, be surpris'd, if modern performers on the *Vînâ* have little or no *modulation*, or *change of mode*, to which passionate musick owes nearly all its enchantment ; but that the old musicians of *India*, having fixed on a leading mode to express the *general* character of the song, which they were *translating into the musical language*, varied that mode, by certain rules, according to the variation of sentiment or passion in the poetical phrases, and always returned to it at the close of
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the air, many reasons induce me to believe ; though I cannot but admit, that their modulation must have been greatly confined by the restriction of certain modes to certain seasons and hours, unless those restrictions belonged merely to the principal mode. The scale of the *Vinà*, we find, comprized both our *European* modes, and, if some of the notes can be raised a semitone by a stronger pressure on the frets, a delicate and experienced finger might produce the effect of minute enharmonick intervals : the construction of the instrument, therefore, seems to favour my conjecture ; and an excellent judge of the subject informs us, that, “ the open “ wires are from time to time struck in a manner, that prepares the ear “ for a change of modulation, to which the uncommonly full and fine “ tones of those notes greatly contribute.” We may add, that the *Hindu* poets never fail to change the *metre*, which is their *mode*, according to the change of subject or sentiment in the same piece ; and I could produce instances of *poetical modulation* (if such a phrase may be used) at least equal to the most affecting modulations of our greatest composers : now the musician must naturally have emulated the poet, as every translator endeavours to resemble his original ; and, since each of the *Indian* modes is appropriated to a certain affection of the mind, it is hardly possible, that, where the passion is varied, a skilful musician could avoid a variation of the mode. The rules for modulation seem to be contained in the chapters on *mixed modes*, for an intermixture of *Mellārì* with *Tòdì* and *Saindhavì* means, I suppose, a transition, however short, from one to another : but the question must remain undecided, unless we can find in the *Sangitas* a clearer account of modulation, than I am able to produce, or unless we can procure a copy of the *Gītāgōvinda* with the musick, to which it was set, before the time of CALIDAS, in some notation, that may be easily decyphered. It is obvious, that I have not been speaking of a modulation regulated by harmony, with which the *Hindus*, I believe, were unacquainted ; though, like the *Greeks*, they distinguish the *consonant* and *dissonant* sounds : I mean only such a transition from one series

of notes to another, as we see described by the *Greek* musicians, who were ignorant of *harmony* in the modern sense of the word, and, perhaps, if they had known it ever so perfectly, would have applied it solely to the support of melody, which alone speaks the language of passion and sentiment.

It would give me pleasure to close this essay with several specimens of old *Indian* airs from the fifth chapter of SO'MA; but I have leisure only to present you with one of them in our own characters accompanied with the original notes: I selected the mode of *Vasanti*, because it was adapted by JAYADE'VA himself to the most beautiful of his odes, and because the number of notes in SO'MA compared with that of the syllables in the *Sanscrit* stanza, may lead us to guess, that the strain itself was applied by the musician to the very words of the poet. The words are:

Lalita lavanga latá perisílana cómala malaya samíré,
 Madhucara nicara carambita cócila cújita cunja cutiré
 Viharati heririha farafa vasanté
 Nrityati yuvati janéna faman sac'hi virahi janasya duranté.

“ While the soft gale of *Malaya* wafts perfume from the beautiful
 “ clove-plant, and the recess of each flowery arbour sweetly resounds
 “ with the strains of the *Cócila* mingled with the murmurs of the honey-
 “ making swarms, *HERI* dances, O lovely friend, with a company of
 “ damsels in this vernal season; a season full of delights, but painful to
 “ separated lovers.”

I have noted SO'MA's air in the major mode of A, or *sa*, which, from its gaiety and brilliancy, well expresses the general hilarity of the song; but the sentiment of tender pain, even in a season of delights, from the remembrance of pleasures no longer attainable, would require in our
 musician

musick a change to the minor mode ; and the air might be disposed in the form of a rondeau ending with the second line, or even with the third, where the sense is equally full, if it should be thought proper to express by another modulation that *imitative melody*, which the poet has manifestly attempted : the measure is very rapid, and the air should be gay, or even quick, in exact proportion to it.

AN OLD INDIAN AIR.

la li ta la van ga la ta pe ri ti la na co mala ma la ya ti mi re

mad hu ca ra ni ca ra ca ram bi ta co ci la cu ji ta cun ja cu ti re

vi ha ra ti he ri ri ha sa ra sa va tan te nrit ya ti yu va ti ja ne na tu man dhi

vi ra hi ja na fya du ran te.

sa ri ga ma pa dha ni sa

The preceding is a strain in the mode of HINDO'LA, beginning and ending with the fifth note *sa*, but wanting *pa*, and *ri*, or the second and sixth : I could easily have found words for it in the *Gita Govinda*, but the limited charms of poetry and musick would lead me too far ; and I must now with reluctance bid farewell to a subject, which I despair of having leisure to resume.



ON
THE MYSTICAL POETRY

OF
THE PERSIANS AND HINDUS.

BY THE PRESIDENT.

A FIGURATIVE mode of expressing the fervour of devotion, or the ardent love of created spirits towards their beneficent Creator, has prevailed from time immemorial in *Asia*; particularly among the *Persian* theists, both ancient *Hushangis* and modern *Súfis*, who seem to have borrowed it from the *Indian* philosophers of the *Védánta* school; and their doctrines are also believed to be the source of that sublime, but poetical, theology, which glows and sparkles in the writings of the old *Academicks*. “PLATO travelled into *Italy* and *Egypt*, says CLAUDE FLEURY, “to learn the Theology of the Pagans at its fountain head:” its true fountain, however, was neither in *Italy* nor in *Egypt* (though considerable streams of it had been conducted thither by PYTHAGORAS and by the family of MISRA); but in *Persia* or *India*, which the founder of the *Italick* sect had visited with a similar design. What the *Grecian* travellers learned among the sages of the east, may perhaps be fully explained, at a season of leisure, in another dissertation; but we confine this essay to a singular species of poetry, which consists almost wholly of a mystical religious allegory, though it seems on a transient view to contain only the sentiments of a wild and voluptuous libertinism: now, admitting the
danger

danger of a poetical style, in which the limits between vice and enthusiasm are so minute as to be hardly distinguishable, we must beware of censuring it severely, and must allow it to be natural, though a warm imagination may carry it to a culpable excess; for an ardently grateful piety is congenial to the undepraved nature of man, whose mind, sinking under the magnitude of the subject, and struggling to express its emotions, has recourse to metaphors and allegories, which it sometimes extends beyond the bounds of cool reason, and often to the brink of absurdity. BARROW, who would have been the sublimest mathematician, if his religious turn of mind had not made him the deepest theologian of his age, describes Love as “an affection or inclination of the soul toward an object, proceeding from an apprehension and esteem of some excellence or convenience in it, as its *beauty*, worth, or utility, and producing, if it be absent, a proportionable desire, and consequently an endeavour, to obtain such a property in it, such possession of it, such an *approximation to it, or union with it*, as the thing is capable of; with a regret and displeasure in failing to obtain it, or in the want and loss of it; begetting likewise a complacence, satisfaction, and delight in its presence, possession, or enjoyment, which is moreover attended with a good will toward it, suitable to its nature; that is, with a desire, that it should arrive at, or continue in, its best state; with a delight to perceive it thrive and flourish; with a displeasure to see it suffer or decay: with a consequent endeavour to advance it in all good and preserve it from all evil.” Agreeably to this description, which consists of two parts, and was designed to comprize the tender love of the Creator towards created spirits, the great philosopher bursts forth in another place, with his usual animation and command of language, into the following panegyrick on the pious love of human souls toward the Author of their happiness: “Love is the sweetest and most delectable of all passions; and, when by the conduct of wisdom it is directed in a rational way toward a worthy, congruous, and attainable object, it cannot otherwise than fill
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‘ the heart with ravishing delight: such, in all respects superlatively
 ‘ such, is GOD; who, infinitely beyond all other things, deserveth our
 ‘ affection, as most perfectly amiable and desirable; as having obliged
 ‘ us by innumerable and inestimable benefits; all the good, that we have
 ‘ ever enjoyed, or can ever expect, being derived from his pure bounty;
 ‘ all things in the world, in competition with him being mean and ugly;
 ‘ all things, without him, vain, unprofitable, and hurtful to us. He is
 ‘ the most proper object of our love; for we chiefly were framed, and
 ‘ it is the prime law of our nature, to love him; *our soul, from its origi-*
 ‘ *nal instinct, vergeth toward him as its centre, and can have no rest, till*
 ‘ *it be fixed on him*: he alone can satisfy the vast capacity of our minds,
 ‘ and fill our boundless desires. He, of all lovely things, most certainly
 ‘ and easily may be attained; for, whereas commonly men are crossed in
 ‘ their affection, and their love is embittered from their affecting things
 ‘ imaginary, which they cannot reach, or coy things, which disdain and
 ‘ reject them, it is with GOD quite otherwise: He is most ready to im-
 ‘ part himself; he most earnestly desireth and wooeth our love; he is
 ‘ not only most willing to correspond in affection, but even doth pre-
 ‘ vent us therein: *He doth cherish and encourage our love by sweetest in-*
 ‘ *fluences and most consoling embraces*; by kindest expressions of favour, by
 ‘ most beneficial returns; and, whereas all other objects do in the en-
 ‘ joyment much fail our expectation, he doth ever far exceed it. Where-
 ‘ fore in all affectionate motions of our hearts toward GOD; in *desiring*
 ‘ him, or seeking his favour and friendship; in *embracing* him, or setting
 ‘ our esteem, our good will, our confidence on him; in *enjoying* him by
 ‘ devotional meditations and addresses to him; in a reflective sense of
 ‘ our interest and propriety in him; *in that mysterious union of spirit,*
 ‘ *whereby we do closely adhere to, and are, as it were, inserted in him*; in
 ‘ a hearty complacency in his benignity, a grateful sense of his kind-
 ‘ ness, and a zealous desire of yielding some requital for it, we cannot
 ‘ but feel very pleasant transports: indeed, that celestial flame, kindled
 “ in

“ in our hearts by the spirit of love, cannot be void of warmth ; we cannot fix our eyes upon *infinite beauty*, we cannot taste infinite sweetness, we cannot cleave to infinite felicity, without also perpetually rejoicing in the first daughter of Love to God, Charity toward men ; which, in complexion and careful disposition, doth much resemble her mother ; for she doth rid us from all those gloomy, keen, turbulent imaginations and passions, which cloud our mind, which fret our heart, which discompose the frame of our soul ; from burning anger, from storming contention, from gnawing envy, from rankling spite, from racking suspicion, from distracting ambition and avarice ; and consequently doth settle our mind in an even temper, in a sedate humour, in an harmonious order, in *that pleasant state of tranquillity, which naturally doth result from the voidance of irregular passions.*” Now this passage from BARROW (which borders, I admit, on quietism and enthusiastic devotion) differs only from the mystical theology of the *Súfs* and *Yógis*, as the flowers and fruits of *Europe* differ in scent and flavour from those of *Asia*, or as *European* differs from *Asiatick* eloquence : the same strain, in poetical measure, would rise up to the odes of SPENSER on *Divine Love and Beauty*, and, in a higher key with richer embellishments, to the songs of HAFIZ and JAYADE’VA, the raptures of the *Masnavi*, and the mysteries of the *Bhágavat*.

Before we come to the *Persians* and *Indians*, let me produce another specimen of *European* theology, collected from a late excellent work of the illustrious M. NECKER. “ Were men animated, says he, with sublime thoughts, did they respect the intellectual power, with which they are adorned, and take an interest in the dignity of their nature, they would embrace with transport that sense of religion, which ennobles their faculties, keeps their minds in full strength, and unites them in idea with him, whose immensity overwhelms them with astonishment : *considering themselves as an emanation from that infinite*

“ Being,

“ *Being*, the source and cause of all things, they would then disdain to
 “ be misled by a gloomy and false philosophy, and would cherish the
 “ idea of a GOD, who *created*, who *regenerates*, who *preserves* this uni-
 “ verse by invariable laws, and by a continued chain of similar causes
 “ producing similar effects; who pervades all nature with his divine
 “ spirit, as an universal soul, which moves, directs, and restrains the
 “ wonderful fabric of this world. The blissful idea of a GOD sweet-
 “ ens every moment of our time, and embellishes before us the path
 “ of life; unites us delightfully to all the beauties of nature, and
 “ associates us with every thing that lives or moves. Yes; the whisper
 “ of the gales, the murmur of waters, the peaceful agitation of trees
 “ and shrubs, would concur to engage our minds and *affect our souls*
 “ *with tenderness*, if our thoughts were elevated to *one universal cause*, if
 “ we recognized on all sides the work of *Him, whom we love*; if we
 “ marked the traces of his august steps and benignant intentions, if we
 “ believed ourselves actually present at the display of his boundless
 “ power and the magnificent exertions of his unlimited goodness. Be-
 “ nevolence, among all the virtues, has a character more than human,
 “ and a certain amiable simplicity in its nature, which seems analogous
 “ to the *first idea*, the original intention of conferring delight, which we
 “ necessarily suppose in the Creator, when we presume to seek his motive
 “ in bestowing existence: benevolence is that virtue, or, to speak more
 “ emphatically, that *primordial beauty*, which preceded all times and all
 “ worlds; and, when we reflect on it, there appears an analogy, obscure
 “ indeed at present, and to us imperfectly known, between our moral
 “ nature and a time yet very remote, when we shall satisfy our ardent
 “ wishes and lively hopes, which constitute perhaps a sixth, and (if the
 “ phrase may be used) a distant, sense. It may even be imagined, that
 “ love, the brightest ornament of our nature, love, enchanting and
 “ sublime, is a mysterious pledge for the assurance of those hopes; since
 “ love, by disengaging us from ourselves, by transporting us beyond the
 VOL. I. 30 “ limits

“ limits of our own being, is the first step in our progress to a joyful
 “ immortality; and, by affording both the notion and example of a
 “ cherished object distinct from our own souls, may be considered as
 “ an interpreter to our hearts of something, which our intellects can-
 “ not conceive. We may seem even to hear the Supreme Intelligence
 “ and Eternal Soul of all nature, give this commission to the spirits,
 “ which emanated from him: *Go; admire a small portion of my works,*
 “ *and study them; make your first trial of happiness, and learn to love*
 “ *him, who bestowed it; but seek not to remove the veil spread over the*
 “ *secret of your existence: your nature is composed of those divine particles,*
 “ *which, at an infinite distance, constitute my own essence; but you would*
 “ *be too near me, were you permitted to penetrate the mystery of our separa-*
 “ *tion and union: wait the moment ordained by my wisdom; and, until*
 “ *that moment come, hope to approach me only by adoration and gratitude.*”

If these two passages were translated into *Sanskrit* and *Persian*, I am confident, that the *Védantis* and *Súfis* would consider them as an epitome of their common system; for they concur in believing, that the souls of men differ infinitely in *degree*, but not at all in *kind*, from the divine spirit, of which they are *particles*, and in which they will ultimately be absorbed; that the spirit of GOD pervades the universe, always immediately present to his work, and consequently always in substance, that he alone is perfect benevolence, perfect truth, perfect beauty; that the love of him alone is *real* and genuine love, while that of all other objects is *absurd* and illusory, that the beauties of nature are faint resemblances, like images in a mirror, of the divine charms; that, from eternity without beginning to eternity without end, the supreme benevolence is occupied in bestowing happiness or the means of attaining it; that men can only attain it by performing their part of the *primal covenant* between them and the Creator; that nothing has a pure absolute existence but *mind* or *spirit*; that *material substances*, as the ignorant call

call them, are no more than gay *pictures* presented continually to our *minds* by the sempiternal Artist; that we must beware of attachment to such *phantoms*, and attach ourselves exclusively to God, who truly exists in us, as we exist solely in him; that we retain even in this forlorn state of separation from our beloved, the *idea* of *heavenly beauty*, and the *remembrance* of our *primeval vows*; that sweet music, gentle breezes, fragrant flowers, perpetually renew the primary *idea*, refresh our fading memory, and melt us with tender affections; that we must cherish those affections, and by abstracting our souls from *vanity*, that is, from all but God, approximate to his essence, in our final union with which we consist our supreme beatitude. From these principles flow a thousand metaphors and poetical figures, which abound in the sacred poems of the *Persians* and *Hindus*, who seem to mean the same thing in substance and differ only in expression, as their languages differ in idiom! The modern *SU'FIS*, who profess a belief in the *Koran*, suppose with great sublimity both of thought and of diction, an *express contract*, on the day of eternity without beginning, between the assemblage of created spirits and the supreme soul, from which they were detached, when a celestial voice pronounced these words, addressed to each spirit separately, "Art thou not with thy Lord?" that is, art thou not bound by a solemn contract with him? and all the spirits answered with one voice, "Yes: hence it is, that *alif*, or *art thou not*, and *beli*, or *yes*, incessantly occur in the mystical verses of the *Persians*, and of the *Turkish* poets, who imitate them, as the *Romans* imitated the *Greeks*. The *Hindus* describe the same covenant under the figurative notion, so finely expressed by ISAIAH, of a *nuptial contract*; for considering GOD in the three characters of Creator, Regenerator and Preserver, and supposing the power of *Preservation* and *Benevolence* to have become incarnate in the person of CRISHNA, they represent him as married to RA'DHIA', a word signifying *atonement*, *pacification*, or *satisfaction*, but applied allegorically to the soul of man, or rather to the whole assemblage of created souls, between whom

whom and the benevolent Creator they suppose that *reciprocal* love, which BARROW describes with a glow of expression perfectly oriental, and which our most orthodox theologians believe to have been mystically *shadowed* in the song of SOLOMON, while they admit, that, in a *literal* sense, it is an epithalamium on the marriage of the sapient king with the princess of *Egypt*. The very learned author of the prelections on sacred poetry declared his opinion, that the canticles were founded on historical truth, but involved an allegory of that sort, which he named *mystical*; and the beautiful poem on the loves of LAILI and MAJNUN by the inimitable NIZA'MI (to say nothing of other poems on the same subject) is indisputably built on true history, yet avowedly allegorical and mysterious; for the introduction to it is a continued rapture on *divine love*; and the name of LAILI seems to be used in the *Masnavi* and the odes of HAFIZ for the omnipresent spirit of GOD.

It has been made a question, whether the poems of HAFIZ must be taken in a literal or in a figurative sense; but the question does not admit of a general and direct answer; for even the most enthusiastick of his commentators, allow, that some of them are to be taken literally, and his editors ought to have distinguished them, as our SPENSER has distinguished his four Odes on *Love* and *Beauty*, instead of mixing the profane with the divine, by a childish arrangement according to the alphabetical order of the rhymes. HAFIZ never pretended to more than human virtues, and it is known that he had human propensities; for in his youth he was passionately in love with a girl surnamed *Shákki Nebát*, or *the Branch of Sugarcane*, and the prince of *Shiraz* was his rival: since there is an agreeable wildness in the story, and since the poet himself alludes to it in one of his odes, I give it you at length from the commentary. There is a place called *Pirifebz*, or *the Green old man*, about four *Persian* leagues from the city; and a popular opinion had long prevailed, that a youth, who should pass forty succe-

five

five nights in *Pirifebz* without sleep, would infallibly become an excellent poet : young HAFIZ had accordingly made a vow, that he would serve that apprenticeship with the utmost exactness, and for thirty-nine days he rigorously discharged his duty, walking every morning before the house of his coy mistress, taking some refreshment and rest at noon, and passing the night awake at his poetical station ; but, on the fortieth morning, he was transported with joy on seeing the girl beckon to him through the lattices, and invite him to enter : she received him with rapture, declared her preference of a bright genius to the son of a king, and would have detained him all night, if he had not recollected his vow, and, resolving to keep it inviolate, returned to his post. The people of *Shiraz* add (and the fiction is grounded on a couplet of HAFIZ), that, early next morning *an old man, in a green mantle*, who was no less a personage than KHAZR himself, approached him at *Pirifebz* with a cup brimful of nectar, which the *Greeks* would have called the water of *Aganippe*, and rewarded his perseverance with an inspiring draught of it. After his juvenile passions had subsided, we may suppose that his mind took that religious bent, which appears in most of his compositions ; for there can be no doubt that the following distichs, collected from different odes, relate to the mystical theology of the *Sufis* :

“ In eternity without beginning, a ray of thy beauty began to gleam ;
 “ when Love sprang into being, and cast flames over all nature ;

“ On that day thy cheek sparkled even under thy veil, and all this
 “ beautiful imagery appeared on the mirror of our fancies.

“ Rise, my soul ; that I may pour thee forth on the pencil of that
 “ supreme Artist, who comprized in a turn of his compass all this won-
 “ derful scenery !

“ From

“ From the moment, when I heard the divine sentence, *I have breathed*
 “ *into man a portion of my spirit*, I was assured, that we were His, and
 “ He ours.

“ Where are the glad tidings of union with thee, that I may abandon
 “ all desire of life? I am a bird of holiness, and would fain escape from
 “ the net of this world.

“ Shed, O Lord, from the cloud of heavenly guidance one cheering
 “ shower, before the moment, when I must rise up like a particle of dry
 “ dust!

“ The sum of our transactions in this universe, is nothing: bring us
 “ the wine of devotion; for the possessions of this world vanish.

“ The true object of heart and soul is the glory of union with our
 “ beloved: that object really exists, but without it both heart and soul
 “ would have no existence.

“ O the bliss of that day, when I shall depart from this desolate man-
 “ sion; shall seek rest for my soul; and shall follow the traces of my
 “ beloved:

“ Dancing, with love of his beauty, like a mote in a sun-beam, till I
 “ reach the spring and fountain of light, whence yon sun derives all his
 “ lustre!”

The couplets, which follow, relate as indubitably to human love and
 sensual gratifications:

“ May the hand never shake, which gathered the grapes! May the
 “ foot never slip, which pressed them!

“ That

“ That poignant liquor, which the zealot calls *the mother of sins*, is
“ pleasanter and sweeter to me than the kisses of a maiden.

“ Wine two years old and a damsel of fourteen are sufficient society
“ for me, above all companies great or small.

“ How delightful is dancing to lively notes and the cheerful melody
“ of the flute, especially when we touch the hand of a beautiful girl !

“ *Call for wine, and scatter flowers around : what more canst thou ask*
“ *from fate ?* Thus spoke the nightingale this morning : what sayest thou,
“ sweet rose, to his precepts ?

“ Bring thy couch to the garden of roses, that thou mayest kiss the
“ cheeks and lips of lovely damsels, quaff rich wine, and smell odori-
“ ferous blossoms.

“ O branch of an exquisite rose-plant, for whose sake dost thou grow ?
“ Ah ! on whom will that smiling rose-bud confer delight ?

“ The rose would have discoursed on the beauties of my charmer, but
“ the gale was jealous, and stole her breath, before she spoke.

“ In this age, the only friends, who are free from blemish, are a flask
“ of pure wine and a volume of elegant love songs.

“ O the joy of that moment, when the self-sufficiency of inebriation
“ rendered me independent of the prince and of his minister !”

Many zealous admirers of HA'FIZ insist, that by *wine* he invariably
means *devotion* ; and they have gone so far as to compose a dictionary of
words

words in the *language*, as they call it, of the *Súfis* : in that vocabulary *sleep* is explained by *meditation* on the divine perfections, and *perfume* by *hope* of the divine favour ; *gales* are *illapses* of grace ; *kisses* and *embraces*, the *raptures* of piety ; *idolaters*, *infidels*, and *libertines* are men of the purest *religion*, and their *idol* is the Creator himself ; the *tavern* is a retired oratory, and its *keeper*, a sage instructor ; *beauty* denotes the *perfection* of the Supreme Being ; *treffes* are the *expansion* of his glory ; *lips*, the hidden mysteries of his essence ; *down* on the cheek, the world of spirits, who encircle his throne ; and a *black mole*, the *point* of indivisible unity ; lastly, *wantonness*, *mirth*, and *ebriety*, mean religious ardour and abstraction from all terrestrial thoughts. The poet himself gives a colour in many passages to such an interpretation ; and without it, we can hardly conceive, that his poems, or those of his numerous imitators, would be tolerated in a *Muselman* country, especially at *Constantinople*, where they are venerated as divine compositions : it must be admitted, that the sublimity of the *mystical allegory*, which, like metaphors and comparisons, should be *general* only, not minutely exact, is diminished, if not destroyed, by an attempt at *particular* and *distinct resemblances* ; and that the style itself is open to dangerous misinterpretation, while it supplies real infidels with a pretext for laughing at religion itself.

On this occasion I cannot refrain from producing a most extraordinary ode by a *Súfi* of *Bokhárá*, who assumed the poetical surname of ISMAT : a more modern poet, by prefixing three lines to each couplet, which rhyme with the first hemistich, has very elegantly and ingeniously converted the *Kafidab* into a *Mokhammes*, but I present you only with a literal version of the original distichs :

“ Yesterday, half inebriated, I passed by the quarter, where the vint-
ners dwell, to seek the daughter of an infidel who sells wine.

“ At

“ At the end of the street, there advanced before me a damsel with a
“ fairy’s cheeks, who, in the manner of a pagan, wore her tresses deshe-
“ velled over her shoulder like the sacerdotal thread. I said: *O thou, to*
“ *the arch of whose eye-brow the new moon is a slave, what quarter is this*
“ *and where is thy mansion?*

“ She answered: *Cast thy rosary on the ground; bind on thy shoulder*
“ *the thread of paganism; throw stones at the glass of piety; and quaff*
“ *wine from a full goblet;*

“ *After that come before me, that I may whisper a word in thine ear:*
“ *thou wilt accomplish thy journey, if thou listen to my discourse.*

“ Abandoning my heart and rapt in ecstasy, I ran after her, till I came
“ to a place, in which religion and reason forsook me.

“ At a distance I beheld a company, all insane and inebriated, who
“ came boiling and roaring with ardour from the wine of love;

“ Without cymbals, or lutes, or viols, yet all full of mirth and me-
“ lody; without wine, or goblet, or flask, yet all incessantly drinking.

“ When the cord of restraint slipped from my hand, I desired to ask
“ her one question, but she said: *Silence!*

“ *This is no square temple, to the gate of which thou canst arrive pre-*
“ *cipitately: this is no mosque to which thou canst come with tumult, but*
“ *without knowledge. This is the banquet-house of infidels, and within it*
“ *all are intoxicated; all, from the dawn of eternity to the day of resurrec-*
“ *tion, lost in astonishment.*

“ *Depart then from the cloister, and take the way to the tavern ; cast
“ off the cloak of a dervise, and wear the robe of a libertine.*

“ I obeyed ; and, if thou desirest the same strain and colour with
“ ISMAT, imitate him, and sell this world and the next for one drop of
“ pure wine.”

Such is the strange religion, and stranger language of the *Sûfis* ; but most of the *Asiatick* poets are of that religion, and, if we think it worth while to read their poems, we must think it worth while to understand them : their great *Maulavi* assures us, that “ they profess eager
“ desire, but with no carnal affection, and circulate the cup, but no material goblet ; since all things are spiritual in their sect, all is mystery
“ within mystery ;” consistently with which declaration he opens his astonishing work, entitled the *Masnavi*, with the following couplets :

Hear, how yon reed in sadly-pleasing tales

Departed bliss and present wo bewails !

‘ With me, from native banks untimely torn,

‘ Love-warbling youths and soft-ey’d virgins mourn.

‘ O ! Let the heart, by fatal absence rent,

‘ Feel what I sing, and bleed when I lament :

‘ Who roams in exile from his parent bow’r,

‘ Pants to return, and chides each ling’ring hour.

‘ My notes, in circles of the grave and gay,

‘ Have hail’d the rising, cheer’d the closing day :

‘ Each in my fond affections claim’d a part,

‘ But none discern’d the secret of my heart.

‘ What though my strains and sorrows flow combin’d !

‘ Yet ears are slow, and carnal eyes are blind.

‘ Free through each mortal form the spirits roll,
‘ But fight avails not. Can we see the soul ?’
Such notes breath’d gently from yon vocal frame :
Breath’d said I ? no ; ’twas all enliv’ning flame.
’Tis love, that fills the reed with warmth divine ;
’Tis love, that sparkles in the racy wine.
Me, plaintive wand’rer from my peerless maid,
The reed has fir’d, and all my soul betray’d.
He gives the bane, and he with balsam cures ;
Afflicts, yet soothes ; impassions, yet allures.
Delightful pangs his am’rous tales prolong ;
And LAILI’S frantick lover lives in song.
Not he, who reasons best, this wisdom knows :
Ears only drink what rapt’rous tongues disclose.
Nor fruitless deem the reed’s heart-piercing pain :
See sweetness dropping from the parted cane.
Alternate hope and fear my days divide :
I courted Grief, and Anguish was my bride.
Flow on, sad stream of life ! I smile secure :
THOU livest ; THOU, the purest of the pure !
Rise, vig’rous youth ! be free ; be nobly bold :
Shall chains confine you, though they blaze with gold ?
Go ; to your vase the gather’d main convey :
What were your stores ? The pittance of a day !
New plans for wealth your fancies would invent ;
Yet shells, to nourish pearls, must lie content.
The man, whose robe love’s purple arrows rend
Bids av’rice rest and toils tumultuous end.
Hail, heav’nly love ! true source of endless gains !
Thy balm restores me, and thy skill sustains.

Oh,

Oh, more than GALEN learn'd, than PLATO wife !
 My guide, my law, my joy supreme arise !
 Love warms this frigid clay with mystick fire,
 And dancing mountains leap with young desire.
 Blest is the soul, that swims in seas of love,
 And long the life sustain'd by food above.
 With forms imperfect can perfection dwell ?
 Here pause, my song ; and thou, vain world, farewell.

A volume might be filled with similar passages from the *Súfi* poets ; from SA'IB, ORFÍ, MÍR KHOSRAU, JA'MÍ, HAZÍ'N, and SA'BÍK, who are next in beauty of composition to HA'FÍZ and SADI, but next at a considerable distance ; from MEST'HÍ, the most elegant of their *Turkish* imitators ; from a few *Hindi* poets of our own times, and from IBNUL FA'RED, who wrote mystical odes in *Arabick* ; but we may close this account of the *Súfis* with a passage from the third book of the BUSTAN, the declared subject of which is *divine love* ; referring you for a particular detail of their metaphysics and theology to the *Dabístan* of MOHSANI FANI, and to the pleasing essay, called the *Junction of two Seas*, by that amiable and unfortunate prince, DA'RA' SHUCU'II :

“ The love of a being composed, like thyself, of water and clay, destroys thy patience and peace of mind ; it excites thee, in thy waking hours with minute beauties, and engages thee, in thy sleep, with vain imaginations : with such real affection dost thou lay thy head on her foot, that the universe, in comparison of her, vanishes into nothing before thee ; and, since thy gold allures not her eye, gold and mere earth appear equal in thine. Not a breath dost thou utter to any one else, for with her thou hast no room for any other ; thou declarest that her abode is in thine eye, or, when thou closest it, in thy heart ; thou hast

“ no

“ no fear of cenſure from any man ; thou haſt no power to be at reſt
“ for a moment ; if ſhe demands thy foul, it runs inſtantly to thy lip ;
“ and if ſhe waves a cimeter over thee, thy head falls immediately under
“ it. Since an abſurd love, with its baſis on air, affects thee ſo violently,
“ and commands with a ſway ſo deſpotic, canſt thou wonder, that they,
“ who walk in the true path, are drowned in the ſea of myſterious
“ adoration ? They diſregard life through affection for its giver ; they
“ abandon the world through remembrance of its maker ; they are
“ inebriated with the melody of amorous complaints ; they remember
“ their beloved, and reſign to him both this life and the next. Through
“ remembrance of GOD, they ſhun all mankind : they are ſo enamoured
“ of the cup-bearer, that they ſpill the wine from the cup. No panacea
“ can heal them, for no mortal can be apprized of their malady ; ſo
“ loudly has rung in their ears, from eternity without beginning, the
“ divine word *aleſt*, with *beli*, the tumultuous exclamation of all ſpirits.
“ They are a ſect fully employed, but ſitting in retirement ; their feet
“ are of earth, but their breath is a flame : with a ſingle yell they could
“ rend a mountain from its baſe ; with a ſingle cry they could throw a
“ city into confuſion : like wind, they are concealed and move nimbly ;
“ like ſtone, they are ſilent, yet repeat GOD’s praiſes. At early dawn
“ their tears flow ſo copiouſly as to waſh from their eyes the black
“ powder of ſleep : though the courſer of their fancy ran ſo ſwiftly all
“ night, yet the morning finds them left behind in diſorder : night and
“ day are they plunged in an ocean of ardent deſire, till they are unable,
“ through aſtoniſhment, to diſtinguiſh night from day. So enraptured
“ are they with the beauty of Him, who decorated the human form,
“ that with the beauty of the form itſelf, they have no concern ; and, if
“ ever they behold a beautiful ſhape, they ſee in it the myſtery of GOD’s
“ work.

“ The wife take not the husk in exchange for the kernel ; and he, who makes that choice, has no understanding. He only has drunk the pure wine of unity, who has forgotten, by remembering GOD, all things else in both worlds.”

Let us return to the *Hindus*, among whom we now find the same emblematical theology, which *Pythagoras* admired and adopted. The loves of CRISHNA and RADHA, or the reciprocal attraction between the divine goodness and the human soul, are told at large in the tenth book of the *Bhāgavat*, and are the subject of a little *Pastoral Drama*, entitled *Gītāgōvinda* : it was the work of JAYADE'VA, who flourished, it is said, before CALIDAS, and was born, as he tells us himself, in CENDULI, which many believe to be in *Calinga* ; but, since there is a town of a similar name in *Berdwan*, the natives of it insist that the finest lyric poet of *India* was their countryman, and celebrate in honour of him an annual jubilee, passing a whole night in representing his drama, and in singing his beautiful songs. After having translated the *Gītāgōvinda* word for word, I reduced my translation to the form, in which it is now exhibited ; omitting only those passages, which are too luxuriant and too bold for an *European* taste, and the prefatory ode on the ten incarnations of VISHNU, with which you have been presented on another occasion : the phrases in *Italicks*, are the *burdens* of the several songs ; and you may be assured, that not a single image or idea has been added by the translator.

GÍTAGÓVINDA :

OR,

THE SONGS OF JAYADÉVA.

‘ THE firmament is obscured by clouds ; the woodlands are black
‘ with *Tamāla*-trees ; that youth, who roves in the forest, will be fear-
‘ ful in the gloom of night : go, my daughter ; bring the wanderer
‘ home to my rustick mansion.’ Such was the command of NANDA,
the fortunate herdsman ; and hence arose the love of RA’DHA’ and MA-
DHAVA, who sported on the bank of *Yamunā*, or hastened eagerly to the
secret bower.

If thy soul be delighted with the remembrance of HERI, or sensible to
the raptures of love, listen to the voice of JAYADÉVA, whose notes are
both sweet and brilliant. O THOU, who reclinest on the bosom of CA-
MALA’ ; whose ears flame with gems, and whose locks are embellished
with sylvan flowers ; thou, from whom the day star derived his efful-
gence, who slewest the venom-breathing CA’LIYA, who beamedst, like a
sun, on the tribe of YADU, that flourished like a lotos ; thou, who fittest
on the plumage of GARURA, who, by subduing demons, gavest exquisite
joy to the assembly of immortals ; thou, for whom the daughter of JA-
NACA was decked in gay apparel, by whom DU’SANA was over-
thrown ;

thrown ; thou, whose eye sparkles like the water-lily, who calledst three worlds into existence ; thou, by whom the rocks of *Mandar* were easily supported, who sippest nectar from the radiant lips of PEDMA', as the fluttering *Chacóra* drinks the moon-beams ; *be victorious*, O HERI, *lord of conquest*.

RA'DHA' fought him long in vain, and her thoughts were confounded by the fever of desire : she roved in the vernal morning among the twining *Vásantis* covered with soft blossoms, when a damsel thus addressed her with youthful hilarity : ' The gale, that has wantoned round ' the beautiful clove-plants, breathes now from the hills of *Maylaya* ; the ' circling arbours resound with the notes of the *Cócil* and the murmurs ' of honey-making swarms. Now the hearts of damsels, whose lovers ' travel at a distance, are pierced with anguish ; while the blossoms of ' *Bacul* are conspicuous among the flowrets covered with bees. The ' *Tamála*, with leaves dark and odorous, claims a tribute from the musk, ' which it vanquishes ; and the clustering flowers of the *Paláśa* resemble ' the nails of CA'MA, with which he rends the hearts of the young. ' The full-blown *Césara* gleams like the sceptre of the world's monarch, ' Love ; and the pointed thyrse of the *Cítaca* resembles the darts, by ' which lovers are wounded. See the bunches of *Pátali*-flowers filled ' with bees, like the quiver of SMARA full of shafts ; while the tender ' blossom of the *Caruna* smiles to see the whole world laying shame aside. ' The far-scented *Mádbhavì* beautifies the trees, round which it twines ; ' and the fresh *Mallicà* seduces with rich perfume even the hearts of ' hermits ; while the *Amra*-tree with blooming tresses is embraced by ' the gay creeper *Atimuṣṭa*, and the blue streams of *Yamunà* wind round ' the groves of *Vrindávan*. *In this charming season, which gives pain to ' separated lovers, young HERI sports and dances with a company of damsels.* ' A breeze, like the breath of love, from the fragrant flowers of the *Cétaca*, kindles every heart, whilst it perfumes the woods with the dust, ' which

‘ which it shakes from the *Mallicā* with half-opened buds ; and the *Cōcila* bursts into song, when he sees the blossoms glistening on the lovely *Rasāla*.’

The jealous RA'DHA' gave no answer ; and, soon after, her officious friend, perceiving the foe of MURA in the forest eager for the rapturous embraces of the herdsmen's daughters, with whom he was dancing, thus again addressed his forgotten mistress : ‘ With a garland of wild flowers descending even to the yellow mantle, that girds his azure limbs, distinguished by smiling cheeks and by ear-rings, that sparkle, as he plays, HERI exults in the assemblage of amorous damsels. One of them presses him with her swelling breast, while she warbles with exquisite melody. Another, affected by a glance from his eye, stands meditating on the lotos of his face. A third, on pretence of whispering a secret in his ear, approaches his temples, and kisses them with ardour. One seizes his mantle and draws him towards her, pointing to the bower on the banks of *Yamunā*, where elegant *Vanjulas* interweave their branches. He applauds another, who dances in the sportive circle, whilst her bracelets ring, as she beats time with her palms. Now he caresses one, and kisses another, smiling on a third with complacency ; and now he chafes her, whose beauty has most allured him. Thus the wanton HERI frolicks, in the season of sweets, among the maids of *Vraja*, who rush to his embraces, as if he were Pleasure itself assuming a human form ; and one of them, under a pretext of hymning his divine perfections, whispers in his ear : “ Thy lips, my beloved, are nectar.”

RA'DHA' remains in the forest ; but resenting the promiscuous passion of HERI, and his neglect of her beauty, which he once thought superiour, she retires to a bower of twining plants, the summit of which resounds with the humming of swarms engaged in their sweet labours ; and there, falling languid on the ground, she thus addresses her female

companion. ' *Though he take recreation in my absence, and smile on all
 ' around him, yet my soul remembers him, whose beguiling reed modulates
 ' a tune sweetened by the nectar of his quivering lip, while his ear
 ' sparkles with gems, and his eye darts amorous glances ; Him, whose
 ' locks are decked with the plumes of peacocks resplendent with many-
 ' coloured moons, and whose mantle gleams like a dark blue cloud illu-
 ' mined with rain-bows ; Him, whose graceful smile gives new lustre to
 ' his lips, brilliant and soft as a dewy leaf, sweet and ruddy as the blossom
 ' of *Bandhujiva*, while they tremble with eagerness to kiss the daughters
 ' of the herdsmen ; Him, who disperses the gloom with beams from the
 ' jewels, which decorate his bosom, his wrists, and his ankles, on whose
 ' forehead shines a circlet of sandal-wood, which makes even the moon
 ' contemptible, when it fails through irradiated clouds ; Him, whose ear-
 ' rings are formed of entire gems in the shape of the fish *Macar* on the
 ' banners of Love ; even the yellow-robed God, whose attendants are the
 ' chiefs of deities, of holy men, and of demons ; Him, who reclines under
 ' a gay *Cadamba*-tree ; who formerly delighted me, while he gracefully
 ' waved in the dance, and all his soul sparkled in his eye. My weak
 ' mind thus enumerates his qualities ; and, though offended, strives to
 ' banish offence. What else can it do ? It cannot part with its affection
 ' for CRISHNA, whose love is excited by other damsels, and who sports
 ' in the absence of RA'DHA'. Bring, O friend, that vanquisher of the
 ' demon CE'SI, to sport with me, who am repairing to a secret bower,
 ' who look timidly on all sides, who meditate with amorous fancy on
 ' his divine transfiguration. Bring him, whose discourse was once com-
 ' posed of the gentlest words, to converse with me, who am bashful on
 ' his first approach, and express my thoughts with a smile sweet as
 ' honey. Bring him, who formerly slept on my bosom, to recline with
 ' me on a green bed of leaves just gathered, while his lip sheds dew, and
 ' my arms enfold him. Bring him, who has attained the perfection of
 ' skill in love's art, whose hand used to press these firm and delicate
 ' spheres,*

' spheres, to play with me, whose voice rivals that of the *Côcil*, and whose
 ' tresses are bound with waving blossoms. Bring him, who formerly
 ' drew me by the locks to his embrace, to repose with me, whose feet
 ' tinkle, as they move, with rings of gold and of gems, whose loosened
 ' zone sounds, as it falls; and whose limbs are slender and flexible as the
 ' creeping plant. That God, whose cheeks are beautified by the nectar
 ' of his smiles, whose pipe drops in his ecstasy, I saw in the grove en-
 ' circled by the damsels of *Vraja*, who gazed on him askance from the
 ' corners of their eyes: I saw him in the grove with happier damsels,
 ' yet the sight of him delighted me. Soft is the gale, which breathes
 ' over yon clear pool, and expands the clustering blossoms of the voluble
 ' *Asôca*; soft, yet grievous to me in the absence of the foe of MADHU.
 ' Delightful are the flowers of *Amra*-trees on the mountain-top, while
 ' the murmuring bees pursue their voluptuous toil; delightful, yet
 ' afflicting to me, O friend, in the absence of the youthful CE'SAVA.'

Meantime, the destroyer of CANSA, having brought to his remem-
 brance the amiable RA'DHA', forsook the beautiful damsels of *Vraja*: he
 sought her in all parts of the forest; his old wound from love's arrow
 bled again; he repented of his levity, and, seated in a bower near the
 bank of *Yamunâ*, the blue daughter of the sun, thus poured forth his
 lamentation.

' She is departed—she saw me, no doubt, surrounded by the wanton
 ' shepherdesses; yet, conscious of my fault, I durst not intercept her
 ' flight. *Who is me! She feels a sense of injured honour, and is departed*
 ' *in wrath.* How will she conduct herself? How will she express her
 ' pain in so long a separation? What is wealth to me? What are nu-
 ' merous attendants? What are the pleasures of the world? What joy
 ' can I receive from a heavenly abode? I seem to behold her face with
 ' eye-brows contracting themselves through her just resentment: it re-
 ' sembles

' fembles a fresh lotos, over which two black bees are fluttering : I seem,
 ' so present is she to my imagination, even now to caress her with eager-
 ' ness. Why then do I seek her in this forest ? Why do I lament with-
 ' out cause ? O slender damsel, anger, I know, has torn thy soft bosom ;
 ' but whither thou art retired, I know not. How can I invite thee to
 ' return ? Thou art seen by me, indeed, in a vision ; thou seemest to
 ' move before me. Ah ! why dost thou not rush, as before, to my em-
 ' brace ? Do but forgive me : never again will I commit a similar offence.
 ' Grant me but a sight of thee, O lovely RA'DHICA' ; for my passion
 ' torments me. I am not the terrible MAHE'SA : a garland of water-
 ' lilies with subtil threads decks my shoulders ; not serpents with twisted
 ' folds : the blue petals of the lotos glitter on my neck ; not the azure
 ' gleam of poison : powdered sandal-wood is sprinkled on my limbs ; not
 ' pale ashes : O God of Love, mistake me not for MAHA'DE'VA. Wound
 ' me not again ; approach me not in anger ; I love already but too pas-
 ' sionately ; yet I have lost my beloved. Hold not in thy hand that
 ' shaft barbed with an *Amra*-flower ! Brace not thy bow, thou con-
 ' queror of the world ! Is it valour to slay one who faints ? My heart is
 ' already pierced by arrows from RA'DHA's eyes, black and keen as
 ' those of an antelope ; yet mine eyes are not gratified with her presence.
 ' Her eyes are full of shafts ; her eye-brows are bows ; and the tips of
 ' her ears are filken strings : thus armed by ANANGA, the God of De-
 ' fire, she marches, herself a goddess, to ensure his triumph over the
 ' vanquished universe. I meditate on her delightful embrace, on the
 ' ravishing glances darted from her eye, on the fragrant lotos of her
 ' mouth, on her nectar-dropping speech ; on her lips ruddy as the berries
 ' of the *Bimba* ; yet even my fixed meditation on such an assemblage of
 ' charms encreases, instead of alleviating, the misery of separation.'

The damsel, commissioned by RA'DHA', found the disconsolate God
 under an arbour of spreading *Vániras* by the side of *Yamunà* ; where,
 presenting

presenting herself gracefully before him, she thus described the affliction of his beloved :

‘ She despises essence of sandal-wood, and even by moon-light sits
 ‘ brooding over her gloomy sorrow ; she declares the gale of *Malaya* to
 ‘ be venom, and the sandal-trees, through which it has breathed, to have
 ‘ been the haunt of serpents. *Thus, O MA'DHAVA, is she afflicted in thy*
 ‘ *absence with the pain, which love's dart has occasioned : her soul is fixed*
 ‘ *on thee.* Fresh arrows of desire are continually affailing her, and she
 ‘ forms a net of lotos-leaves as armour for her heart, which thou alone
 ‘ shouldst fortify. She makes her own bed of the arrows darted by the
 ‘ flowery-shafted God ; but, when she hoped for thy embrace, she had
 ‘ formed for thee a couch of soft blossoms. Her face is like a water-lily,
 ‘ veiled in the dew of tears, and her eyes appear like moons eclipsed,
 ‘ which let fall their gathered nectar through pain caused by the tooth
 ‘ of the furious dragon. She draws thy image with musk in the cha-
 ‘ racter of the Deity with five shafts, having subdued the *Macar*, or
 ‘ horned shark, and holding an arrow tipped with an *Amra*-flower ; thus
 ‘ she draws thy picture, and worships it. At the close of every sentence,
 ‘ “ O MA'DHAVA, she exclaims, at thy feet am I fallen, and in thy ab-
 ‘ sence even the moon, though it be a vase full of nectar, inflames my
 ‘ limbs.” Then, by the power of imagination, she figures thee stand-
 ‘ ing before her ; thee, who art not easily attained : she sighs, she smiles,
 ‘ she mourns, she weeps, she moves from side to side, she laments and re-
 ‘ joices by turns. Her abode is a forest ; the circle of her female com-
 ‘ panions is a net ; her sighs are flames of fire kindled in a thicket ; her-
 ‘ self (alas ! through thy absence) is become a timid roe ; and Love is
 ‘ the tiger, who springs on her like YAMA, the Genius of Death. So
 ‘ emaciated is her beautiful body, that even the light garland, which
 ‘ waves over her bosom, she thinks a load. *Such, O bright-haired God,*
 ‘ *is RA'DHA when thou art absent.* If powder of sandal-wood finely
 ‘ levigated

'levigated be moistened and applied to her breasts, she starts, and mis-
 'takes it for poison. Her sighs form a breeze long extended, and burn
 'her like the flame, which reduced CANDARPA to ashes. She throws
 'around her eyes, like blue water-lilies with broken stalks, dropping
 'lucid streams. Even her bed of tender leaves appear in her sight like a
 'kindled fire. The palm of her hand supports her aching temple, motion-
 'less as the crescent rising at eve. "HERI, HERI," thus in silence she
 'meditates on thy name, as if her wish were gratified, and she were dying
 'through thy absence. She rends her locks; she pants; she laments
 'inarticulately; she trembles; she pines; she muses; she moves from
 'place to place; she closes her eyes; she falls; she rises again; she
 'faints: in such a fever of love, she may live, O celestial physician, if
 'thou administer the remedy; but, shouldst Thou be unkind, her malady
 'will be desperate. Thus, O divine healer, by the nectar of thy love
 'must RA'DHA' be restored to health; and, if thou refuse it, thy heart
 'must be harder than the thunderstone. Long has her soul pined, and
 'long has she been heated with sandal-wood, moon-light, and water-
 'lilies, with which others are cooled; yet she patiently and in secret
 'meditates on Thee, who alone canst relieve her. Shouldst thou be in-
 'constant, how can she, wafted as she is to a shadow, support life a
 'single moment? How can she, who lately could not endure thy ab-
 'sence even an instant, forbear sighing now, when she looks with half-
 'closed eyes on the *Rasála* with bloomy branches, which remind her of
 'the vernal season, when she first beheld thee with rapture?

'Here have I chosen my abode: go quickly to RA'DHA'; soothe her
 'with my message, and conduct her hither.' So spoke the foe of
 MADHU to the anxious damsel, who hastened back, and thus addressed
 her companion: 'Whilst a sweet breeze from the hills of *Malaya* comes
 'wafting on his plumes the young God of Desire; while many a flower
 'points his extended petals to pierce the bosom of separated lovers, *the*
'Deity

Deity crowned with sylvan blossoms, laments, O friend, in thy absence.
 ' Even the dewy rays of the moon burn him ; and, as the shaft of love
 ' is descending, he mourns inarticulately with increasing distraction.
 ' When the bees murmur softly, he covers his ears ; misery sits fixed in
 ' his heart, and every returning night adds anguish to anguish. He
 ' quits his radiant palace for the wild forest, where he sinks on a bed of
 ' cold clay, and frequently mutters thy name. In yon bower, to which
 ' the pilgrims of love are used to repair, he meditates on thy form, re-
 ' peating in silence some enchanting word, which once dropped from
 ' thy lips, and thirsting for the nectar which they alone can supply.
 ' Delay not, O loveliest of women ; follow the lord of thy heart : behold,
 ' he seeks the appointed shade, bright with the ornaments of love, and
 ' confident of the promised bliss. *Having bound his locks with forest-*
 ' *flowers, he hastens to yon arbour, where a soft gale breathes over the banks*
 ' *of Yamunà :* there, again pronouncing thy name, he modulates his
 ' divine reed. Oh ! with what rapture doth he gaze on the golden dust,
 ' which the breeze shakes from expanded blossoms ; the breeze, which
 ' has kissed thy cheek ! With a mind, languid as a dropping wing, feeble
 ' as a trembling leaf, he doubtfully expects thy approach, and timidly
 ' looks on the path which thou must tread. Leave behind thee, O friend,
 ' the ring which tinkles on thy delicate ankle, when thou sportest in the
 ' dance ; hastily cast over thee thy azure mantle, and run to the gloomy
 ' bower. The reward of thy speed, O thou who sparklest like lightning,
 ' will be to shine on the blue bosom of MURA'RI, which resembles
 ' a vernal cloud, decked with a string of pearls like a flock of white
 ' water-birds fluttering in the air. Disappoint not, O thou lotos-eyed,
 ' the vanquisher of MADHU ; accomplish his desire ; but go quickly : it
 ' is night ; and the night also will quickly depart. Again and again he
 ' sighs ; he looks around ; he re-enters the arbour ; he can scarce articu-
 ' late thy sweet name ; he again smooths his flowery couch ; he looks
 ' wild ; he becomes frantick : thy beloved will perish through desire.

' The

' The bright-beamed God sinks in the west, and thy pain of separation
 ' may also be removed : the blackness of the night is increased, and the
 ' passionate imagination of GO'VINDA has acquired additional gloom.
 ' My address to thee has equalled in length and in sweetness the song of
 ' the *Cócila* : delay will make thee miserable, O my beautiful friend.
 ' Seize the moment of delight in the place of assignation with the son of
 ' DE'VACI', who descended from heaven to remove the burdens of the
 ' universe ; he is a blue gem on the forehead of the three worlds, and
 ' longs to sip honey, like the bee, from the fragrant lotos of thy cheek.'

But the solicitous maid, perceiving that RA'DHA' was unable through
 debility, to move from her arbour of flowery creepers, returned to GO'-
 VINDA, who was himself disordered with love, and thus described her
 situation.

' *She mourns, O sovereign of the world, in her verdant bower ; she looks*
 ' *eagerly on all sides in hope of thy approach ; then, gaining strength*
 ' *from the delightful idea of the proposed meeting, she advances a few*
 ' *steps, and falls languid on the ground. When she rises, she weaves*
 ' *bracelets of fresh leaves ; she dresses herself like her beloved, and, look-*
 ' *ing at herself in sport, exclaims, " Behold the vanquisher of MADHU !"*
 ' *Then she repeats again and again the name of HERI, and, catching at*
 ' *a dark blue cloud, strives to embrace it, saying : " It is my beloved*
 ' *who approaches."* Thus, while thou art dilatory, she lies expecting
 ' thee ; she mourns ; she weeps ; she puts on her gayest ornaments to
 ' receive her lord ; she compresses her deep sighs within her bosom ; and
 ' then, meditating on thee, O cruel, she is drowned in a sea of rapturous
 ' imaginations. If a leaf but quiver, she supposes thee arrived ; she
 ' spreads her couch ; she forms in her mind a hundred modes of delight :
 ' yet, if thou go not to her bower, she must die this night through ex-
 ' cessive anguish!

By

By this time the moon spread a net of beams over the groves of *Vrindāvan*, and looked like a drop of liquid fandal on the face of the sky, which smiled like a beautiful damsel; while its orb with many spots betrayed, as it were, a consciousness of guilt, in having often attended amorous maids to the loss of their family honour. The moon, with a black fawn couched on its disc, advanced in its nightly course; but MA'DHAVA had not advanced to the bower of RA'DHA', who thus bewailed his delay with notes of varied lamentation.

' The appointed moment is come; but HERI, alas! comes not to the grove. Must the season of my unblemished youth pass thus idly away? *Oh! what refuge can I seek, deluded as I am by the guile of my female adviser?* The God with five arrows has wounded my heart; and I am deserted by Him, for whose sake I have fought at night the darkest recesses of the forest. Since my best beloved friends have deceived me, it is my wish to die: since my senses are disordered, and my bosom is on fire, why stay I longer in this world? The coolness of this vernal night gives me pain, instead of refreshment: some happier damsel enjoys my beloved; whilst I, alas! am looking at the gems in my bracelets, which are blackened by the flames of my passion. My neck, more delicate than the tenderest blossom, is hurt by the garland, that encircles it: flowers, are, indeed, the arrows of Love, and he plays with them cruelly. I make this wood my dwelling: I regard not the roughness of the *Vétas*-trees; but the destroyer of MADHU holds me not in his remembrance! Why comes he not to the bower of bloomy *Vanjulas*, assigned for our meeting? Some ardent rival, no doubt, keeps him locked in her embrace: or have his companions detained him with mirthful recreations? Else why roams he not through the cool shades? Perhaps, the heart-sick lover is unable through weakness to advance even a step!—So saying, she raised her eyes; and, seeing her damsel return silent and mournful, unaccompanied by MA'DHAVA, she was
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alarmed even to phrensy ; and, as if she actually beheld him in the arms of a rival, she thus described the vision which overpowered her intellect.

‘ Yes ; in habiliments becoming the war of love, and with tresses
 ‘ waving like flowery banners, *a damsel, more alluring than RA'DHA*, en-
 ‘ joys the conqueror of MADHU. Her form is transfigured by the touch
 ‘ of her divine lover ; her garland quivers over her swelling bosom ; her
 ‘ face like the moon is graced with clouds of dark hair, and trembles,
 ‘ while she quaffs the nectareous dew of his lip ; her bright ear-rings
 ‘ dance over her cheeks, which they irradiate ; and the small bells on her
 ‘ girdle tinkle as she moves. Bathful at first, she smiles at length on her
 ‘ embracer, and expresses her joy with inarticulate murmurs ; while she
 ‘ floats on the waves of desire, and closes her eyes dazzled with the
 ‘ blaze of approaching CA'MA : and now this heroine in love's warfare
 ‘ falls exhausted and vanquished by the resistless MURA'RI, but alas ! in
 ‘ my bosom prevails the flame of jealousy, and yon moon, which dispels
 ‘ the sorrow of others, increases mine. See again, where the *foe of*
 ‘ MURA, sports in yon grove on the bank of the Yamunà ! See, how he
 ‘ kisses the lip of my rival, and imprints on her forehead an ornament of
 ‘ pure musk, black as the young antelope on the lunar orb ! Now, like
 ‘ the husband of RETI, he fixes white blossoms on her dark locks, where
 ‘ they gleam like flashes of lightning among the curled clouds. On her
 ‘ breasts, like two firmaments, he places a string of gems like a radiant
 ‘ constellation : he binds on her arms, graceful as the stalks of the water-
 ‘ lily, and adorned with hands glowing like the petals of its flower, a
 ‘ bracelet of sapphires, which resemble a cluster of bees. Ah ! see, how
 ‘ he ties round her waist a rich girdle illumined with golden bells, which
 ‘ seem to laugh, as they tinkle, at the inferior brightness of the leafy
 ‘ garlands, which lovers hang on their bowers to propitiate the God of
 ‘ Desire. He places her soft foot, as he reclines by her side, on his
 ‘ ardent bosom, and stains it with the ruddy hue of *Yâvatar*. Say, my
 ‘ friend,

' friend, why pass I my nights in this tangled forest without joy, and
 ' without hope, while the faithless brother of HALADHERA clasps my
 ' rival in his arms? Yet why, my companion, shouldst thou mourn,
 ' though my perfidious youth has disappointed me? What offence is it
 ' of thine, if he sport with a crowd of damsels happier than I? Mark,
 ' how my soul, attracted by his irresistible charms, bursts from its mortal
 ' frame, and rushes to mix with its beloved. *She, whom the God enjoys,*
 ' *crowned with sylvan flowers,* sits carelessly on a bed of leaves with Him,
 ' whose wanton eyes resemble blue water-lilies agitated by the breeze.
 ' She feels no flame from the gales of *Malaya* with Him, whose words
 ' are sweeter than the water of life. She derides the shafts of soul-born
 ' CA'MA, with Him, whose lips are like a red lotos in full bloom. She
 ' is cooled by the moon's dewy beams, while she reclines with Him,
 ' whose hands and feet glow like vernal flowers. No female companion
 ' deludes her, while she sports with Him, whose vesture blazes like tried
 ' gold. She faints not through excess of passion, while she caresses that
 ' youth, who surpasses in beauty the inhabitants of all worlds. O gale,
 ' scented with sandal, who breathest love from the regions of the south,
 ' be propitious but for a moment: when thou hast brought my beloved
 ' before my eyes, thou mayest freely waft away my soul. Love, with
 ' eyes like blue water-lilies, again assails me and triumphs; and, while
 ' the perfidy of my beloved rends my heart, my female friend is my foe,
 ' the cool breeze scorches me like a flame, and the nectar-dropping moon
 ' is my poison. Bring disease and death, O gale of *Malaya*! Seize my
 ' spirit, O God with five arrows! I ask not mercy from thee: no more
 ' will I dwell in the cottage of my father. Receive me in thy azure
 ' waves, O sister of YAMA, that the ardour of my heart may be allayed!

Pierced by the arrows of love, she passed the night in the agonies of
 despair, and at early dawn thus rebuked her lover, whom she saw lying
 prostrate before her and imploring her forgiveness.

‘ Alas !

' Alas ! alas ! Go, MA'DHAVA, depart, O CE'SAVA ; *speaking not the language of guile ; follow her, O lotos-eyed God, follow her, who dispels thy care.* Look at his eye half-opened, red with continued waking through the pleasurable night, yet smiling still with affection for my rival ! Thy teeth, O cerulean youth, are azure as thy complexion from the kisses, which thou hast imprinted on the beautiful eyes of thy darling graced with dark blue powder ; and thy limbs marked with punctures in love's warfare, exhibit a letter of conquest written on polished sapphires with liquid gold. That broad bosom, stained by the bright lotos of her foot, displays a vesture of ruddy leaves over the tree of thy heart, which trembles within it. The pressure of her lip on thine wounds me to the soul. Ah ! how canst thou assert, that we are one, since our sensations differ thus widely ? Thy soul, O dark-limbed god, shows its blackness externally. How couldst thou deceive a girl who relied on thee ; a girl who burned in the fever of love ? Thou rovest in woods, and females are thy prey : what wonder ? Even thy childish heart was malignant ; and thou gavest death to the nurse, who would have given thee milk. Since thy tenderness for me, of which these forests used to talk, has now vanished, and since thy breast, reddened by the feet of my rival, glows as if thy ardent passion for her were bursting from it, the sight of thee, O deceiver, makes me (ah ! must I say it ?) blush at my own affection.'

Having thus inveighed against her beloved, she sat overwhelmed in grief, and silently meditated on his charms ; when her damsel softly addressed her.

' He is gone : the light air has wafted him away. What pleasure now, my beloved, remains in thy mansion ? *Continue not, resentful woman, thy indignation against the beautiful MA'DHAVA.* Why shouldst thou render vain those round smooth vases, ample and ripe as the sweet fruit

‘fruit of yon *Táa*-tree? How often and how recently have I said: “forfake not the blooming *HERI*?” Why fittest thou so mournful? Why weepest thou with distraction, when the damsels are laughing around thee? Thou hast formed a couch of soft lotos-leaves: let thy darling charm thy sight, while he reposes on it. Afflict not thy soul with extreme anguish; but attend to my words, which conceal no guile. Suffer *CE'SAVA* to approach: let him speak with exquisite sweetness, and dissipate all thy sorrows. If thou art harsh to him, who is amiable; if thou art proudly silent, when he deprecates thy wrath with lowly prostrations; if thou showest aversion to him, who loves thee passionately; if, when he bends before thee, thy face be turned contemptuously away; by the same rule of contrariety, the dust of sandal-wood, which thou hast sprinkled, may become poison; the moon, with cool beams, a scorching sun; the fresh dew, a consuming flame; and the sports of love be changed into agony.’

MA'DHAVA was not absent long: he returned to his beloved; whose cheeks were heated by the sultry gale of her sighs. Her anger was diminished, not wholly abated; but she secretly rejoiced at his return, while the shades of night also were approaching, she looked abashed at her damsel, while He, with faltering accents, implored her forgiveness.

‘Speak but one mild word, and the rays of thy sparkling teeth will dispel the gloom of my fears. My trembling lips, like thirsty *Gha-córas*, long to drink the moon-beams of thy cheek. *O my darling, who art naturally so tender-hearted, abandon thy causeless indignation. At this moment the flame of desire consumes my heart: Oh! grant me a draught of honey from the lotos of thy mouth.* Or, if thou beest inexorable, grant me death from the arrows of thy keen eyes; make thy arms my chains; and punish me according to thy pleasure. Thou art my life; thou art my ornament; thou art a pearl in the ocean of my mortal birth: oh! be

' be favourable now, and my heart shall eternally be grateful. Thine
 ' eyes, which nature formed like blue water-lilies, are become, through
 ' thy resentment, like petals of the crimson lotos: oh! tinge with their
 ' effulgence these my dark limbs, that they may glow like the shafts of
 ' Love tipped with flowers. Place on my head that foot like a fresh
 ' leaf, and shade me from the sun of my passion, whose beams I am un-
 ' able to bear. Spread a string of gems on those two soft globes; let the
 ' golden bells of thy zone tinkle, and proclaim the mild edict of love.
 ' Say, O damsel with delicate speech, shall I dye red with the juice of
 ' *alactaca* those beautiful feet, which will make the full-blown land-lotos
 ' blush with shame? Abandon thy doubts of my heart, now indeed flut-
 ' tering through fear of thy displeasure, but hereafter to be fixed wholly
 ' on thee; a heart, which has no room in it for another: none else can
 ' enter it, but Love, the bodiless God. Let him wing his arrows; let
 ' him wound me mortally; decline not, O cruel, the pleasure of seeing
 ' me expire. Thy face is bright as the moon, though its beams drop the
 ' venom of maddening desire: let thy nectareous lip be the charmer, who
 ' alone has power to lull the serpent, or supply an antidote for his poison.
 ' Thy silence afflicts me: oh! speak with the voice of musick, and let
 ' thy sweet accents allay my ardour. Abandon thy wrath, but abandon
 ' not a lover, who surpasses in beauty the sons of men, and who kneels
 ' before thee, O thou most beautiful among women. Thy lips are a
 ' *Bandhujiva*-flower; the lustre of the *Madbuca* beams on thy cheek;
 ' thine eye outshines the blue lotos; thy nose is a bud of the *Tila*; the
 ' *Cunda*-blossom yields to thy teeth: thus the flowery-shafted God bor-
 ' rows from thee the points of his darts, and subdues the universe.
 ' Surely, thou descendest from heaven, O slender damsel, attended by a
 ' company of youthful goddesses; and all their beauties are collected
 ' in thee.'

He spake; and, seeing her appeased by his homage, flew to his bower,
 clad

clad in a gay mantle. The night now veiled all visible objects; and the damsel thus exhorted RA'DHA', while she decked her with beaming ornaments.

' Follow, *gentle RA'DHICA', follow the foe of MADHU*: his discourse
' was elegantly composed of sweet phrases; he prostrated himself at thy
' feet; and he now hastens to his delightful couch by yon grove of
' branching *Vanjulas*. Bind round thy ankle rings beaming with gems;
' and advance with mincing steps, like the pearl-fed *Mardla*. Drink
' with ravished ears the soft accents of HERI; and feast on love, while
' the warbling *Cocilas* obey the mild ordinance of the flower-darting God.
' Abandon delay: see, the whole assembly of slender plants, pointing to the
' bower with fingers of young leaves agitated by the gale, make signals for
' thy departure. Ask those two round hillocks, which receive pure dew-
' drops from the garland playing on thy neck, and the buds on whose top
' start aloft with the thought of thy darling; ask, and they will tell, that thy
' soul is intent on the warfare of love: advance, fervid warrior, advance
' with alacrity, while the sound of thy tinkling waist-bells shall represent
' martial music. Lead with thee some favoured maid; grasp her hand
' with thine, whose fingers are long and smooth as love's arrows: march;
' and, with the noise of thy bracelets, proclaim thy approach to the
' youth, who will own himself thy slave: "She will come; she will
' "exult on beholding me; she will pour accents of delight; she will
' "enfold me with eager arms; she will melt with affection." Such are
' his thoughts at this moment; and, thus thinking, he looks through the
' long avenue; he trembles; he rejoices; he burns; he moves from
' place to place; he faints, when he sees thee not coming, and falls in
' his gloomy bower. The night now dresses in habiliments fit for secrecy,
' the many damsels, who hasten to their places of assignation: she sets
' off with blackness their beautiful eyes; fixes dark *Tamala*-leaves behind
' their ears; decks their locks with the deep azure of water-lilies, and
' sprinkles

'sprinkles musk on their panting bosoms. The nocturnal sky, black as
'the touchstone, tries now the gold of their affection, and is marked
'with rich lines from the flashes of their beauty, in which they surpass
'the brightest *Cashmirians*.'

RA'DHA', thus incited, tripped through the forest; but shame over-
powered her, when, by the light of innumerable gems, on the arms, the
feet, and the neck of her beloved, she saw him at the door of his flowery
mansion: then her damsel again addressed her with ardent exultation.

'Enter, sweet RA'DHA' the bower of HERI: seek delight, O thou,
'whose bosom laughs with the foretaste of happiness. Enter, sweet
'RA'DHA', the bower graced with a bed of *Asoca*-leaves: seek delight,
'O thou, whose garland leaps with joy on thy breast. Enter, sweet
'RA'DHA', the bower illumined with gay blossoms; seek delight, O
'thou, whose limbs far excel them in softness. Enter, O RA'DHA', the
'bower made cool and fragrant by gales from the woods of *Malaya*: seek
'delight, O thou, whose amorous lays are softer than breezes. Enter,
'O RA'DHA', the bower spread with leaves of twining creepers: seek
'delight, O thou, whose arms have been long inflexible. Enter,
'O RA'DHA', the bower, which resounds with the murmur of honey-
'making bees: seek delight, O thou, whose embrace yields more exqui-
'site sweetness. Enter, O RA'DHA', the bower attuned by the melodious
'band of *Cécilas*: seek delight, O thou, whose lips, which outshine the
'grains of the pomegranate, are embellished, when thou speakest, by the
'brightness of thy teeth. Long has he borne thee in his mind; and
'now, in an agony of desire, he pants to taste nectar from thy lip. Deign
'to restore thy slave, who will bend before the lotos of thy foot, and
'press it to his irradiated bosom; a slave, who acknowledges himself
'bought by thee for a single glance from thy eye, and a toss of thy
'disdainful eye-brow.'

She

She ended ; and RA'DHIA' with timid joy, darting her eyes on GO'-VINDA, while she musically sounded the rings of her ankles and the bells of her zone, entered the mystic bower of her only beloved. *There she beheld her MA'DHAVA, who delighted in her alone ; who so long had sighed for her embrace ; and whose countenance then gleamed with excessive rapture :* his heart was agitated by her sight, as the waves of the deep are affected by the lunar orb. His azure breast glittered with pearls of unblemished lustre, like the full bed of the cerulean *Yamunà*, interspersed with curls of white foam. From his graceful waist, flowed a pale yellow robe, which resembled the golden dust of the water-lily, scattered over its blue petals. His passion was inflamed by the glances of her eyes, which played like a pair of water-birds with azure plumage, that sport near a full-blown lotos on a pool in the season of dew. Bright ear-rings, like two suns, displayed in full expansion the flowers of his cheeks and lips, which glistened with the liquid radiance of smiles. His locks, interwoven with blossoms, were like a cloud variegated with moon-beams ; and on his forehead shone a circle of odorous oil, extracted from the sandal of *Malaya*, like the moon just appearing on the dusky horizon ; while his whole body seemed in a flame from the blaze of unnumbered gems. Tears of transport gushed in a stream from the full eyes of RA'DHIA', and their watery glances beamed on her best beloved. Even shame, which before had taken its abode in their dark pupils, was itself ashamed and departed, when the fawn-eyed RA'DHIA', gazed on the brightened face of CRISHNA, while she passed by the soft edge of his couch, and the bevy of his attendant nymphs, pretending to strike the gnats from their cheeks in order to conceal their smiles, warily retired from his bower.

GO'VINDA, seeing his beloved cheerful and serene, her lips sparkling with smiles, and her eye speaking desire, thus eagerly addressed her ; while she carelessly reclined on the leafy bed strewn with soft blossoms.

' Set the lotos of thy foot on this azure bosom ; and let this couch be
 ' victorious over all, who rebel against love. *Give short rapture, sweet*
 ' RA'DHA', to NA'RA'YA'N, *thy adorer*. I do thee homage ; I press
 ' with my blooming palms thy feet, weary with so long a walk. O that
 ' I were the golden ring, that plays round thy ankle ! Speak but one
 ' gentle word ; bid nectar drop from the bright moon of thy mouth.
 ' Since the pain of absence is removed, let me thus remove the thin veil
 ' that enviously hides thy charms. Blest should I be, if those raised
 ' globes were fixed on my bosom, and the ardour of my passion allayed.
 ' O ! suffer me to quaff the liquid bliss of those lips ; restore with their
 ' water of life thy slave, who has long been lifeless, whom the fire of
 ' separation has consumed. Long have these ears been afflicted, in thy
 ' absence, by the notes of the *Côcila* : relieve them with the sound of thy
 ' tinkling waist-bells, which yield musick, almost equal to the melody of
 ' thy voice. Why are those eyes half closed ? Are they ashamed of see-
 ' ing a youth, to whom thy careless resentment gave anguish ? Oh ! let
 ' affliction cease : and let ecstacy drown the remembrance of sorrow.'

In the morning she rose disarrayed, and her eyes betrayed a night
 without slumber ; when the yellow-robed God, who gazed on her with
 transport, thus meditated on her charms in his heavenly mind : ' Though
 ' her locks be diffused at random, though the lustre of her lips be faded,
 ' though her garland and zone be fallen from their enchanting stations,
 ' and though she hide their places with her hands, looking toward me
 ' with bashful silence, yet even thus disarranged, she fills me with ex-
 ' tatic delight.' But RA'DHA', preparing to array herself, before the
 company of nymphs could see her confusion, spake thus with exultation
 to her obsequious lover.

' Place, O son of YADU, with fingers cooler than sandal-wood, place a
 ' circlet of musk on this breast, which resembles a vase of consecrated
 ' water,

' water, crowned with fresh leaves, and fixed near a vernal bower, to
 ' propitiate the God of Love. Place, my darling, the glossy powder,
 ' which would make the blackest bee envious, on this eye, whose glances
 ' are keener than arrows darted by the husband of RETI. Fix, O ac-
 ' complished youth, the two gems, which form part of love's chain, in
 ' these ears, whence the antelopes of thine eyes may run downwards and
 ' sport at pleasure. Place now a fresh circle of musk, black as the lunar
 ' spots, on the moon of my forehead ; and mix gay flowers on my tresses
 ' with a peacock's feathers, in graceful order, that they may wave like
 ' the banners of CA'MA. Now replace, O tender hearted, the loose or-
 ' naments of my vesture ; and refix the golden bells of my girdle on
 ' their destined station, which resembles those hills, where the God with
 ' five shafts, who destroyed SAMBAR, keeps his elephant ready for
 ' battle.'

While the spake, the heart of YADAVA triumphed ; and, obeying her
 sportful behests, he placed musky spots on her bosom and forehead, dyed
 her temples with radiant hues, embellished her eyes with additional
 blackness, decked her braided hair and her neck with fresh garlands, and
 tied on her wrists the loosened bracelets, on her ankles the beamy rings,
 and round her waist the zone of bells, that sounded with ravishing
 melody.

Whatever is delightful in the modes of musick, whatever is divine in
 meditations on VISHNU, whatever is exquisite in the sweet art of love,
 whatever is graceful in the fine strains of poetry, all that let the happy
 and wise learn from the songs of JAYADE'VA, whose soul is united with
 the foot of NA'RA'YAN. May that HARI be your support, who ex-
 panded himself into an infinity of bright forms, when, eager to gaze
 with myriads of eyes on the daughter of the ocean, he displayed his
 great character of the all-pervading deity, by the multiplied reflections of
 his

his divine person in the numberless gems on the many heads of the king of serpents, whom he chose for his couch ; that HERI, who removing the lucid veil from the bosom of PEDMA', and fixing his eyes on the delicious buds, that grew on it, diverted her attention by declaring that, when she had chosen him as her bridegroom near the sea of milk, the disappointed husband of PERVATI drank in despair the venom, which dyed his neck azure !

REMARKS
ON
THE ISLAND OF
HINZUAN OR *JOHANNA*.

BY THE PRESIDENT.

HINZUAN (a name, which has been gradually corrupted into *Anzuame*, *Anjuan*, *Juanny*, and *Jobanna*) has been governed about two centuries by a colony of *Arabs*, and exhibits a curious instance of the slow approaches toward civilization, which are made by a small community, with many natural advantages, but with few means of improving them. An account of this *African* island, in which we hear the language and see the manners of *Arabia*, may neither be uninteresting in itself, nor foreign to the objects of inquiry proposed at the institution of our Society.

On *Monday* the 28th of *July* 1783, after a voyage, in the *Crocodile*, of ten weeks and two days from the rugged islands of *Cape Verd*, our eyes were delighted with a prospect so beautiful, that neither a painter nor a poet could perfectly represent it, and so cheering to us, that it can justly be conceived by such only, as have been in our preceding situation. It was the sun rising in full splendour on the isle of *Mayáta* (as the seamen called it) which we had joyfully distinguished the preceding afternoon by

by the height of its peak, and which now appeared at no great distance from the windows of our cabin ; while *Tinian*, for which we had so long panted, was plainly discernible a-head, where its high lands presented themselves with remarkable boldness. The weather was fair ; the water, smooth ; and a gentle breeze drove us easily before dinner-time round a rock, on which the *Brilliant* struck just a year before, into a commodious road *, where we dropped our anchor early in the evening : we had seen *Mobila*, another sister island, in the course of the day.

The frigate was presently surrounded with canoes, and the deck soon crowded with natives of all ranks, from the high-born chief, who washed linen, to the half-naked slave, who only paddled. Most of them had letters of recommendation from *Englishmen*, which none of them were able to read, though they spoke *English* intelligibly ; and some appeared vain of titles, which our countrymen had given them in play, according to their supposed stations : we had *Lords*, *Dukes*, and *Princes* on board, soliciting our custom and importuning us for presents. In fact they were too sensible to be proud of empty sounds, but justly imagined, that those ridiculous titles would serve as marks of distinction, and, by attracting notice, procure for them something substantial. The only men of real consequence in the island, whom we saw before we landed, were the Governor ABDULLAH, second cousin to the king, and his brother ALWI', with their several sons ; all of whom will again be particularly mentioned : they understood *Arabick*, seemed zealots in the *Mohammedan* faith, and admired my copies of the *Alkoran* ; some verses of which they read, whilst ALWI' perused the opening of another *Arabian* manuscript, and explained it in *English* more accurately than could have been expected.

The next morning showed us the island in all its beauty ; and the

* Lat. 12°. 10'. 47". S. Long. 44°. 25'. 5". E. by the Master.

scene was so diversified, that a distinct view of it could hardly have been exhibited by the best pencil : you must, therefore, be satisfied with a mere description, written on the very spot and compared attentively with the natural landscape. We were at anchor in a fine bay, and before us was a vast amphitheatre, of which you may form a general notion by picturing in your minds a multitude of hills infinitely varied in size and figure, and then supposing them to be thrown together, with a kind of artless symmetry, in all imaginable positions. The back ground was a series of mountains, one of which is pointed, near half a mile perpendicularly high from the level of the sea, and little more than three miles from the shore : all of them were richly clothed with wood, chiefly fruit-trees, of an exquisite verdure. I had seen many a mountain of a stupendous height in *Wales* and *Switzerland*, but never saw one before, round the bosom of which the clouds were almost continually rolling, while its green summit rose flourishing above them, and received from them an additional brightness. Next to this distant range of hills was another tier, part of which appeared charmingly verdant, and part rather barren ; but the contrast of colours changed even this nakedness into a beauty : nearer still were innumerable mountains, or rather cliffs, which brought down their verdure and fertility quite to the beach ; so that every shade of green, the sweetest of colours, was displayed at one view by land and by water. But nothing conduced more to the variety of this enchanting prospect, than the many rows of palm-trees, especially the tall and graceful *Areca's*, on the shores, in the valleys, and on the ridges of hills, where one might almost suppose them to have been planted regularly by design. A more beautiful appearance can scarce be conceived, than such a number of elegant palms in such a situation, with luxuriant tops, like verdant plumes, placed at just intervals, and showing between them part of the remoter landscape, while they left the rest to be supplied by the beholder's imagination. The town of *Matfamúú* lay on our left, remarkable at a distance for the tower of the principal mosque, which

which was built by HALI'MAH, a queen of the island, from whom the present king is descended: a little on our right was a small town, called *Bantani*. Neither the territory of *Nice*, with its olives, date-trees, and cypresses, nor the isles of *Hieres*, with their delightful orange-groves, appeared so charming to me, as the view from the road of *Hinguan*; which, nevertheless, is far surpassed, as the Captain of the *Cressville* assured us, by many of the islands in the southern ocean. If life were not too short for the complete discharge of all our respective duties, public and private, and for the acquisition even of necessary knowledge in any degree of perfection, with how much pleasure and improvement might a great part of it be spent in admiring the beauties of this wonderful orb, and contemplating the nature of man in all its varieties!

We hastened to tread on firm land, to which we had been so long disused, and went on shore, after breakfast, to see the town, and return the Governor's visit. As we walked, attended by a crowd of natives, I surprized them by reading aloud an *Arabick* inscription over the gate of a mosque, and still more, when I entered it, by explaining four sentences, which were written very distinctly on the wall, signifying, "that the
 " world was given us for our own edification, not for the purpose of raising
 " sumptuous buildings; life, for the discharge of moral and religious
 " duties, not for pleasurable indulgences; wealth, to be liberally bestowed, not avariciously hoarded; and learning, to produce good
 " actions, not empty disputes." We could not but respect the temple even of a false prophet, in which we found such excellent morality: we saw nothing better among the *Romish* trumpery in the church at *Madera*. When we came to ABDULLAH's house, we were conducted through a small court-yard into an open room, on each side of which was a large and convenient sofa, and above it a high bed-place in a dark recess, over which a chintz counterpoint hung down from the ceiling: this is the general form of the best rooms in the island; and most of the tolerable
 houses

houses have a similar apartment on the opposite side of the court, that there may be at all hours a place in the shade for dinner or for repose. We were entertained with ripe dates from *Yemen*, and the milk of cocoanuts; but the heat of the room, which seemed accessible to all, who chose to enter it, and the scent of musk or civet, with which it was perfumed, soon made us desirous of breathing a purer air; nor could I be detained long by the *Arabick* manuscripts, which the Governor produced, but which appeared of little use, and consequently of no value, except to such as love mere curiosities: one of them, indeed, relating to the penal law of the *Mohammedans*, I would gladly have purchased at a just price; but he knew not what to ask, and I knew, that better books on that subject might be procured in *Bengal*. He then offered me a black boy for one of my *Alkorans*, and pressed me to barter an *Indian* dress, which he had seen on board the ship, for a cow and calf: the golden slippers attracted him most, since his wife, he said, would like to wear them; and, for that reason, I made him a present of them; but had destined the book and the robe for his superior. No high opinion could be formed of *Suyyad* ABDULLAH, who seemed very eager for gain, and very servile where he expected it.

Our next visit was to *Sbaikh* SA'LIM, the king's eldest son; and, if we had seen him first, the state of civilization in *Hinzuan* would have appeared at its lowest ebb: the worst *English* hackney in the worst stable is better lodged, and looks more princely than this heir apparent; but, though his mien and apparel were extremely savage, yet allowance should have been made for his illness; which, as we afterwards learned, was an abscess in the spleen, a disorder not uncommon in that country, and frequently cured, agreeably to the *Arabian* practice, by the actual cautery. He was incessantly chewing pieces of the *Areca-nut* with shell-lime; a custom borrowed, I suppose, from the *Indians*, who greatly improve the composition with spices and betel-leaves, to which they formerly

merly added camphor: all the natives of rank chewed it, but not, I think, to so great an excess. Prince SA'LIM from time to time gazed at himself with complacency in a piece of broken looking-glass, which was glued on a small board; a specimen of wretchedness, which we observed in no other house; but many circumstances convinced us, that the apparently low condition of his royal highness, who was not on bad terms with his father, and seemed not to want authority, proceeded wholly from his avarice. His brother HAMDULLAH, who generally resides in the town of *Domóni*, has a very different character, being esteemed a man of worth, good sense, and learning: he had come, the day before, to *Mat-samúdo*, on hearing that an *English* frigate was in the road; and I, having gone out for a few minutes to read an *Arabick* inscription, found him, on my return, devouring a manuscript, which I had left with some of the company. He is a *Kád'i*, or *Mohammedan* judge; and, as he seemed to have more knowledge than his countrymen, I was extremely concerned, that I had so little conversation with him. The king, *Skaikb* AHMED, has a younger son, named ABDULLAH, whose usual residence is in the town of *Wáni*, which he seldom leaves, as the state of his health is very infirm. Since the succession to the title and authority of *Sultán* is not unalterably fixed in one line, but requires confirmation by the chiefs of the island, it is not improbable, that they may hereafter be conferred on prince HAMDULLAH.

A little beyond the hole, in which SA'LIM received us, was his *h'aram*, or the apartment of his women, which he permitted us all to see, not through politeness to strangers, as we believed at first, but, as I learned afterwards from his own lips, in expectation of a present: we saw only two or three miserable creatures with their heads covered, while the favourite, as we supposed, stood behind a coarse curtain, and showed her ankles under it loaded with silver rings; which, if she was capable of reflection, she must have considered as glittering fetters rather than ornaments;

ornaments ; but a rational being would have preferred the condition of a wild beast, exposed to perils and hunger in a forest, to the splendid misery of being wife or mistress to SA'LIM.

Before we returned, ALWI' was desirous of showing me his books ; but the day was too far advanced, and I promised to visit him some other morning. The governor, however, prevailed on us to see his place in the country, where he invited us to dine the next day : the walk was extremely pleasant from the town to the side of a rivulet, which formed in one part a small pool very convenient for bathing, and thence, through groves and alleys, to the foot of a hill ; but the dining-room was little better than an open barn, and was recommended only by the coolness of its shade. ABDULLAH would accompany us on our return to the ship, together with two *Muftis*, who spoke *Arabick* indifferently, and seemed eager to see all my manuscripts ; but they were very moderately learned, and gazed with stupid wonder on a fine copy of the *Hamásab* and on other collections of ancient poetry.

Early the next morning a black messenger, with a tawny lad as his interpreter, came from prince SA'LIM ; who, having broken his perspective-glass, wished to procure another by purchase or barter : a polite answer was returned, and steps taken to gratify his wishes. As we on our part expressed a desire to visit the king at *Domóni*, the prince's messenger told us, that his master would, no doubt, lend us palanquins (for there was not a horse in the island) and order a sufficient number of his vassals to carry us, whom we might pay for their trouble, as we thought just : we commissioned him, therefore, to ask that favour, and begged, that all might be ready for our excursion before sunrise ; that we might escape the heat of the noon, which, though it was the middle of winter, we had found excessive. The boy, whose name was COMPO MADI, stayed with us longer than his companion : there was something in

in his look so ingenuous, and in his broken *English* so simple, that we encouraged him to continue his innocent prattle. He wrote and read *Arabick* tolerably well, and set down at my desire the names of several towns in the island, which, He first told me, was properly called *Hin-zuàn*. The fault of begging for whatever he liked, he had in common with the governor and other nobles; but hardly in a greater degree: his first petition for some lavender-water was readily granted; and a small bottle of it was so acceptable to him, that, if we had suffered him, he would have kissed our feet; but it was not for himself that he rejoiced so extravagantly: he told us with tears starting from his eyes, that his mother would be pleased with it, and the idea of her pleasure seemed to fill him with rapture: never did I see filial affection more warmly felt or more tenderly and, in my opinion, unaffectedly expressed; yet this boy was not a favourite of the officers, who thought him artful. His mother's name, he said, was FA'TIMA; and he importuned us to visit her; conceiving, I suppose, that all mankind must love and admire her: we promised to gratify him; and, having made him several presents, permitted him to return. As he reminded me of ALADDIN in the *Arabian* tale, I designed to give him that name in a commendatory letter, which he pressed me to write, instead of St. DOMINGO, as some *European* visiter had ridiculously called him; but, since the allusion would not have been generally known, and since the title of *Aldu'llin*, or *Eminence* in *Faith*, might have offended his superiors, I thought it advisable for him to keep his *African* name. A very indifferent dinner was prepared for us at the house of the Governor, whom we did not see the whole day, as it was the beginning of *Ramaddàn*, the *Mohammedan* lent, and he was engaged in his devotions, or made them his excuse; but his eldest son sat by us, while we dined, together with MU'SA, who was employed, jointly with his brother HUSAIN, as purveyor to the Captain of the frigate.

Having

Having observed a very elegant shrub, that grew about six feet high in the court-yard, but was not then in flower, I learned with pleasure, that it was *binna*, of which I had read so much in *Arabian* poems, and which *European* Botanists have ridiculously named *Lawsonia*: MU'SA bruised some of the leaves, and, having moistened them with water, applied them to our nails, and the tips of our fingers, which in a short time, became of a dark orange-scarlet. I had before conceived a different idea of this dye, and imagined, that it was used by the *Arabs* to imitate the natural redness of those parts in young and healthy persons, which in all countries must be considered as a beauty: perhaps a less quantity of *binna*, or the same differently prepared, might have produced that effect. The old men in *Arabia* used the same dye to conceal their grey hair, while their daughters were dying their lips and gums black, to set off the whiteness of their teeth: so universal in all nations and ages are personal vanity, and a love of disguising truth; though in all cases, the farther our species recede from nature, the farther they depart from true beauty: and men at least should disdain to use artifice or deceit for any purpose or on any occasion: if the women of rank at *Paris*, or those in *London* who wish to imitate them, be inclined to call the *Arabs* barbarians; let them view their own head-dresses and cheeks in a glass, and, if they have left no room for blushes, be inwardly at least ashamed of their censure.

In the afternoon I walked a long way up the mountains in a winding path amid plants and trees no less new than beautiful, and regretted exceedingly, that very few of them were in blossom; as I should then have had leisure to examine them. Curiosity led me from hill to hill; and I came at last to the sources of a rivulet, which we had passed near the shore, and from which the ship was to be supplied with excellent water. I saw no birds on the mountains but *Guinea-fowl*, which might have been easily caught: no insects were troublesome to me, but mosquitos; and I had

had no fear of venomous reptiles, having been assured, that the air was too pure for any to exist in it; but I was often unwillingly a cause of fear to the gentle and harmless lizard, who ran among the shrubs. On my return I missed the path, by which I had ascended; but, having met some blacks laden with yams and plantains, I was by them directed to another, which led me round, through a charming grove of cocoa-trees, to the Governor's country-seat, where our entertainment was closed by a fillabub, which the *English* had taught the *Muselmans* to make for them.

We received no answer from SA'LIM; nor, indeed, expected one; since we took for granted, that he could not but approve our intention of visiting his father; and we went on shore before sunrise, in full expectation of a pleasant excursion to *Domóni*: but we were happily disappointed. The servants, at the prince's door, told us coolly, that their master was indisposed, and, as they believed, asleep; that he had given them no orders concerning his palanquins, and that they durst not disturb him. ALWI' soon came to pay us his compliments; and was followed by his eldest son, AHMED, with whom we walked to the gardens of the two princes SA'LIM and HAMDULLAH; the situation was naturally good, but wild and desolate; and, in SA'LIM's garden, which we entered through a miserable hovel, we saw a convenient bathing-place, well-built with stone, but then in great disorder, and a shed, by way of summer-house, like that under which we dined at the governor's, but smaller and less neat. On the ground lay a kind of cradle about six feet long, and little more than one foot in breadth, made of cords twisted in a sort of clumsy network, with a long thick bambu fixed to each side of it: this, we heard with surprize, was a royal palanquin, and one of the vehicles, in which we were to have been rocked on men's shoulders over the mountains. I had much conversation with AHMED, whom I found intelligent and communicative: he told me, that several of his countrymen composed

composed songs and tunes ; that he was himself a passionate lover of poetry and musick ; and that, if we would dine at his house, he would play and sing to us. We declined his invitation to dinner ; as we had made a conditional promise, if ever we passed a day at *Matfamúdo*, to eat our curry with *Bánà GIBU*, an honest man, of whom we purchased eggs and vegetables, and to whom some *Englishman* had given the title of *lord*, which made him extremely vain : we could, therefore, make *Sayyad AHMED* only a morning visit. He sung a hymn or two in *Arabick*, and accompanied his drawling, though pathetick, psalmody with a kind of mandoline, which he touched with an awkward quill : the instrument was very imperfect, but seemed to give him delight. The names of the strings were written on it in *Arabian* or *Indian* figures, simple and compounded ; but I could not think them worth copying. He gave Captain WILLIAMSON, who wished to present some literary curiosities to the library at *Dublin*, a small roll containing a hymn in *Arabick* letters, but in the language of *Mombazá*, which was mixed with *Arabick* ; but it hardly deserved examination, since the study of languages has little intrinsic value, and is only useful as the instrument of real knowledge, which we can scarce expect from the poets of the *Mozambique*. AHMED would, I believe, have heard our *European* airs (I always except *French* melody) with rapture, for his favourite tune was a common *Irish* jig, with which he seemed wonderfully affected.

On our return to the beach I thought of visiting old ALWI', according to my promise, and prince SA'LIM, whose character I had not then discovered : I resolved for that purpose to stay on shore alone, our dinner with GIBU having been fixed at an early hour. ALWI' showed me his manuscripts, which chiefly related to the ceremonies and ordinances of his own religion ; and one of them, which I had formerly seen in *Europe*, was a collection of sublime and elegant hymns in praise of MOHAMMED, with explanatory notes in the margin : I requested him to read one of them

them after the manner of the *Arabs*, and he chanted it in a strain by no means unpleasing; but I am persuaded, that he understood it very imperfectly. The room, which was open to the street, was presently crowded with visitors, most of whom were *Mufti's*, or *Expounders of the Law*; and ALWI' desirous, perhaps, to display his zeal before them at the expense of good breeding, directed my attention to a passage in a commentary on the *Koràn*, which I found levelled at the *Christians*. The commentator, having related with some additions (but, on the whole, not inaccurately) the circumstances of the temptation, puts this speech into the mouth of the tempter: "though I am unable to delude thee, yet I will mislead, by thy means, more human creatures, than thou wilt set right." 'Nor was this menace vain (says the *Mohammedan* writer); for the inhabitants of a region many thousand leagues in extent are still so deluded by the devil, that they impiously call I'SA the son of GOD: heaven preserve us, he adds, from blaspheming *Christians* as well as blaspheming *Jews*.' Although a religious dispute with those obstinate zealots would have been unseasonable and fruitless, yet they deserved, I thought, a slight reprehension, as the attack seemed to be concerted among them. 'The commentator, said I, was much to blame for passing so indiscriminate and hasty a censure: the title, which gave your legislator, and gives you, such offence, was often applied in *Judea*, by a bold figure agreeable to the *Hebrew* idiom, though unusual in *Arabick*, to *angels*, to *holy men*, and even to *all mankind*, who are commanded to call GOD *their Father*; and in this large sense, the Apostle to the *Romans* calls the elect the *children of GOD*, and the MESSIAH the *first-born among many brethren*; but the words *only begotten* are applied transcendentally and incomparably to him alone*; and, as for me, who believe the scriptures, which you also profess to believe, though you assert without proof that we have altered them, I cannot refuse him an

* Rom. 8. 29. See 1 John 3. 1. II. Barrow, 231, 232, 251.

'appellation,

appellation, though far surpassing our reason, by which he is distinguished in the Gospel ; and the believers in MUHAMMED, who expressly names him *the Messiah*, and pronounces him to have been born of a virgin, which alone might fully justify the phrase condemned by this author, are themselves condemnable for cavilling at words, when they cannot object to the substance of our faith consistently with their own.' The *Muselmans* had nothing to say in reply ; and the conversation was changed.

I was astonished at the questions, which ALWI' put to me concerning the late peace and the independence of *America* ; the several powers and resources of *Britain and France, Spain and Holland* ; the character and supposed views of the Emperor ; the comparative strength of the *Russian*, imperial, and *Ottoman* armies, and their respective modes of bringing their forces to action : I answered him without reserve, except on the state of our possessions in *India* ; nor were my answers lost ; for I observed, that all the company were variously affected by them ; generally with amazement, often with concern ; especially when I described to them the great force and admirable discipline of the *Austrian* army, and the stupid prejudices of the *Turks*, whom nothing can induce to abandon their old *Tartarian* habits, and exposed the weakness of their empire in *Africa*, and even in the more distant provinces of *Asia*. In return he gave me clear, but general, information concerning the government and commerce of his island : " his country, he said, was poor, and produced few articles of trade ; but, if they could get money, *which they now preferred to play-things* (those were his words), they might easily, he added, procure foreign commodities, and exchange them advantageously with their neighbours in the islands and on the continent : thus with a little money, said he, we purchase muskets, powder, balls, cutlasses, knives, cloths, raw cotton, and other articles brought from *Bombay*, and with those we trade to *Madagascar* for the natural produce of the country

“ or for *dollars*, with which the *French* buy cattle, honey, butter, and so forth, in that island. With *gold*, which we receive from your ships, we can procure elephants’ teeth from the natives of *Mozambique*, who barter them also for ammunition and bars of iron, and the *Portuguese* in that country give us cloths of various kinds in exchange for our commodities: those cloths we dispose of lucratively in the three neighbouring islands; whence we bring rice, cattle, a kind of bread-fruit, which grows in *Comara*, and *slaves*, which we buy also at other places, to which we trade; and we carry on this traffick in our own vessels.”

Here I could not help expressing my abhorrence of their *slave-trade*, and asked him by what law they claimed a property in rational beings; since our Creator had given our species a dominion, to be moderately exercised, over the beasts of the field and the fowls of the air, but none to man over man. “ By no law, answered he, unless necessity be a law. There are nations in *Madagascar* and in *Africa*, who know neither GOD, nor his Prophet, nor MOSES, nor DAVID, nor the MESSIAH: those nations are in perpetual war, and take many captives; whom, if they could not sell, they would certainly kill. Individuals among them are in extreme poverty, and have numbers of children; who, if they cannot be disposed of, must perish through hunger, together with their miserable parents: by purchasing these wretches, we preserve their lives, and, perhaps, those of many others, whom our money relieves. The sum of the argument is this: if we buy them, they will live; if they become valuable servants, they will live comfortably; but, if they are not sold, they must die miserably.” “ There may be, said I, such cases; but you fallaciously draw a general conclusion from a few particular instances; and this is the very fallacy, which, on a thousand other occasions, deludes mankind. It is not to be doubted, that a constant and gainful traffick in human creatures foment war, in which captives are always made, and keeps up that perpetual enmity, which you pretend

‘pretend to be the *cause* of a practice in itself reprehensible, while in truth it is its *effect*; the same traffick encourages laziness in some parents, who might in general support their families by proper industry, and seduces others to stifle their natural feelings: at most your redemption of those unhappy children can amount only to a personal contract, implied between you, for gratitude and reasonable service on their part, for kindness and humanity on yours; but can you think your part performed by disposing of them against their wills with as much indifference, as if you were selling cattle; especially as they might become readers of the *Korán*, and pillars of your faith?’ “The law, said he, forbids our selling them, when they are believers in the Prophet; and little children only are sold; nor they often, or by all masters.” You, who believe in MUHAMMED, said I, are bound by the spirit and letter of his laws to take pains, that they also may believe in him; and, if you neglect so important a duty for sordid gain, I do not see how you can hope for prosperity in this world, or for happiness in the next.’ My old friend and the *Mufti*’s assented, and muttered a few prayers; but probably forgot my preaching, before many minutes had passed.

So much time had slipped away in this conversation, that I could make but a short visit to prince SA’LIM; and my view in visiting him was to fix the time of our journey to *Domóni* as early as possible on the next morning. His appearance was more savage than ever; and I found him in a disposition to complain bitterly of the *English*: “No acknowledgment, he said, had been made for the kind attentions of himself and the chief men in his country to the officers and people of the *Brilliant*, though a whole year had elapsed since the wreck.” I really wondered at the forgetfulness, to which alone such a neglect could be imputed; and assured him, that I would express my opinion both in *Bengal* and in letters to *England*. “We have little, said he, to hope from letters; for,
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“ when we have been paid with them instead of money, and have shown them on board your ships, we have commonly been treated with disdain, and often with imprecations.” I assured him, that either those letters must have been written coldly and by very obscure persons, or shown to very ill-bred men, of whom there were too many in all nations ; but that a few instances of rudeness ought not to give him a general prejudice against our national character. “ But you, said he, are a wealthy nation ; and we are indigent : yet, though all our groves of cocoa-trees, our fruits, and our cattle, are ever at your service, you always try to make hard bargains with us for what you chuse to dispose of, and frequently will neither sell nor give those things, which we principally want.” “ To form, said I, a just opinion of *Englishmen*, you must visit us in our own island, or at least in *India* ; here we are strangers and travellers : many of us have no design to trade in any country, and none of us think of trading in *Hínzuàn*, where we stop only for refreshment. The clothes, arms, or instruments, which you may want, are commonly necessary or convenient to us ; but, if *Sayyad ALWI* or his sons were to be strangers in our country, you would have no reason to boast of superior hospitality.” He then showed me, a second time, a part of an old silk vest with the star of the order of the Thistle, and begged me to explain the motto ; expressing a wish, that the order might be conferred on him by the King of *England* in return for his good offices to the *English*. I represented to him the impossibility of his being gratified, and took occasion to say, that there was more true dignity in their own native titles, than in those of *prince*, *duke*, and *lord*, which had been idly given them, but had no conformity to their manners or the constitution of their government.

This conversation being agreeable to neither of us, I changed it by desiring, that the palanquins and bearers might be ready next morning as early as possible : he answered, that his palanquins were at our service
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for nothing, but that we must pay him ten dollars for each set of bearers; that it was the stated price; and that Mr. HASTINGS had paid it, when he went to visit the king. This, as I learned afterwards, was false; but, in all events, I knew, that he would keep the dollars himself, and give nothing to the bearers, who deserved them better, and whom he would compel to leave their cottages, and toil for his profit. "Can you imagine, I replied, that we would employ four and twenty men to bear us so far on their shoulders without rewarding them amply? But since they are free men (so he had assured me) and not your slaves, we will pay them in proportion to their diligence and good behaviour; and it becomes neither your dignity nor ours to make a previous bargain." I showed him an elegant copy of the *Koràn*, which I destined for his father, and described the rest of my present; but he coldly asked, "if that was all:" had he been king, a purse of dry dollars would have given him more pleasure than the finest or holiest manuscript. Finding him, in conversing on a variety of subjects, utterly void of intelligence or principle, I took my leave, and saw him no more; but promised to let him know for certain whether we should make our intended excursion.

We dined in tolerable comfort, and had occasion, in the course of the day, to observe the manners of the natives in the middle rank, who are called *Bánas*, and all of whom have slaves constantly at work for them: we visited the mother of COMBOMA'DI, who seemed in a station but little raised above indigence; and her husband, who was a mariner, bartered an *Arabick* treatise on astronomy and navigation, which he had read, for a sea compass, of which he well knew the use.

In the morning I had conversed with two very old *Arabs* of *Yemen*, who had brought some articles of trade to *Hínzuàn*; and in the afternoon I met another, who had come from *Masfat* (where at that time
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there was a civil war) to purchase, if he could, an hundred stand of arms. I told them all that I loved their nation, and they returned my compliments with great warmth; especially the two old men, who were near fourscore, and reminded me of ZOHAIK and HA'RETH.

So bad an account had been given me of the road over the mountains, that I dissuaded my companions from thinking of the journey, to which the Captain became rather disinclined; but, as I wished to be fully acquainted with a country, which I might never see again, I wrote the next day to SA'LIM, requesting him to lend me one palanquin and to order a sufficient number of men: he sent me no written answer; which I ascribe rather to his incapacity than to rudeness; but the Governor, with ALWI' and two of his sons, came on board in the evening, and said, that they had seen my letter; that all should be ready; but that I could not pay less for the men than ten dollars. I said I would pay more, but it should be to the men themselves, according to their behaviour. They returned somewhat dissatisfied, after I had played at chess with ALWI's younger son, in whose manner and address there was something remarkably pleasing.

Before sunrise on the 2d of *August* I went alone on shore, with a small basket of such provisions, as I might want in the course of the day, and with some cushions to make the prince's palanquin at least a tolerable vehicle; but the prince was resolved to receive the dollars, to which his men were entitled; and he knew, that, as I was eager for the journey, he could prescribe his own terms. Old ALWI' met me on the beach, and brought excuses from SA'LIM; who, he said, was indisposed. He conducted me to his house; and seemed rather desirous of persuading me to abandon my design of visiting the king; but I assured him, that, if the prince would not supply me with proper attendants, I would walk to *Domóni* with my own servants and a guide. ' *Shaikh* SA'LIM, he said,

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‘ was miserably avaricious ; that he was ashamed of a kinsman with such
 ‘ a disposition ; but that he was no less obstinate than covetous ; and
 ‘ that, without ten dollars paid in hand, it would be impossible to pro-
 ‘ cure bearers.’ I then gave him three guineas, which he carried, or
 pretended to carry, to SA’LIM, but returned without the change, alledg-
 ing that he had no silver, and promising to give me on my return the
 few dollars that remained. In about an hour the ridiculous vehicle was
 brought by nine sturdy blacks, who could not speak a word of *Arabick* ;
 so that I expected no information concerning the country, through which
 I was to travel ; but ALWI’ assisted me in a point of the utmost conse-
 quence. ‘ You cannot go, said he, without an interpreter ; for the king
 ‘ speaks only the language of this island ; but I have a servant, whose
 ‘ name is TUMU’NI, a sensible and worthy man, who understands *Eng-*
 ‘ *lish*, and is much esteemed by the king : he is known and valued all
 ‘ over *Hinzuan*. This man shall attend you ; and you will soon be sen-
 ‘ sible of his worth.’

TUMU’NI desired to carry my basket, and we set out with a prospect
 of fine weather, but some hours later than I had intended. I walked, by
 the gardens of the two princes, to the skirts of the town, and came to a
 little village consisting of several very neat huts made chiefly with the
 leaves of the cocoa-tree ; but the road a little farther was so stony, that I
 sat in the palanquin, and was borne with perfect safety over some rocks :
 I then desired my guide to assure the men, that I would pay them liberally ;
 but the poor peasants, who had been brought from their farms on the
 hills, were not perfectly acquainted with the use of money, and treated
 my promise with indifference.

About five miles from *Matfamúdo* lies the town of *Wánì*, where *Shaikh*
 ABDULLAH, who has already been mentioned, usually resides : I saw it
 at a distance, and it seemed to be agreeably situated. When I had passed
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the rocky part of the road, I came to a stony beach, where the sea appeared to have lost some ground, since there was a fine sand to the left, and beyond it a beautiful bay, which resembled that of *Weymouth*, and seemed equally convenient for bathing; but it did not appear to me, that the stones, over which I was carried, had been recently covered with water. Here I saw the frigate, and, taking leave of it for two days, turned from the coast into a fine country very neatly cultivated, and consisting partly of hillocks exquisitely green, partly of plains, which were then in a gaudy dress of rich yellow blossoms: my guide informed me, that they were plantations of a kind of vetch, which was eaten by the natives. Cottages and farms were interspersed all over this gay champaign, and the whole scene was delightful; but it was soon changed for beauties of a different sort. We descended into a cool valley, through which ran a rivulet of perfectly clear water; and there, finding my vehicle uneasy, though from the laughter and merriment of my bearers I concluded them to be quite at their ease, I bade them let me down, and walked before them all the rest of the way. Mountains, clothed with fine trees and flowering shrubs, presented themselves on our ascent from the vale; and we proceeded for half an hour through pleasant woodwalks, where I regretted the impossibility of loitering a while to examine the variety of new blossoms, which succeeded one another at every step, and the virtues, as well as names, of which seemed familiar to *TUMU'NI*. At length we descended into a valley of greater extent than the former: a river or large wintry torrent ran through it, and fell down a steep declivity at the end of it, where it seemed to be lost among rocks. Cattle were grazing on the banks of the river, and the huts of their owners appeared on the hills: a more agreeable spot I had not before seen even in *Switzerland* or *Merionethshire*; but it was followed by an assemblage of natural beauties, which I hardly expected to find in a little island twelve degrees to the south of the Line. I was not sufficiently pleased with my solitary journey to discover charms, which had no actual existence, and
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the first effect of the contrast between St. *Jago* and *Hinzuan* had ceased; but, without any disposition to give the landscape a high colouring, I may truly say, what I thought at the time, that the whole country, which next presented itself, as far surpassed *Emeronville* or *Blenheim*, or any other imitations of nature, which I had seen in *France* or *England*, as the finest bay surpasses an artificial piece of water. Two very high mountains, covered to the summit with the richest verdure, were at some distance on my right hand, and separated from me by meadows diversified with cottages and herds, or by vallies resounding with torrents and water-falls; on my left was the sea, to which there were beautiful openings from the hills and woods; and the road was a smooth path naturally winding through a forest of spicy shrubs, fruit-trees, and palms. Some high trees were spangled with white blossoms equal in fragrance to orange-flowers: my guide called them *Monongo's*, but the day was declining so fast, that it was impossible to examine them: the variety of fruits, flowers, and birds, of which I had a transient view in this magnificent garden, would have supplied a naturalist with amusement for a month; but I saw no remarkable insect, and no reptile of any kind. The woodland was diversified by a few pleasant glades, and new prospects were continually opened: at length a noble view of the sea burst upon me unexpectedly; and, having passed a hill or two, we came to the beach, beyond which were several hills and cottages. We turned from the shore; and, on the next eminence, I saw the town of *Domóni* at a little distance below us: I was met by a number of natives, a few of whom spoke *Arabick*, and thinking it a convenient place for repose, I sent my guide to apprize the king of my intended visit. He returned in half an hour with a polite message; and I walked into the town, which seemed large and populous. A great crowd accompanied me, and I was conducted to a house built on the same plan with the best houses at *Matfamúdo*: in the middle of the court-yard stood a large *Monongotrec*, which perfumed the air; the apartment on the left was empty;

and, in that on the right, sat the king on a sofa or bench covered with an ordinary carpet. He rose, when I entered, and, grasping my hands, placed me near him on the right; but, as he could speak only the language of *Hinzuàn*, I had recourse to my friend TUMU'NI, than whom a readier or more accurate interpreter could not have been found. I presented the king with a very handsome *Indian* dress of blue silk with golden flowers, which had been worn only once at a masquerade, and with a beautiful copy of the *Koràn*, from which I read a few verses to him: he took them with great complacency, and said, "he wished I had come by sea, that he might have loaded one of my boats with fruit and with some of his finest cattle. He had seen me, he said, on board the frigate, where he had been, according to his custom, in disguise, and had heard of me from his son *Shuikh* HAMDULLAH." I gave him an account of my journey, and extolled the beauties of his country: he put many questions concerning mine, and professed great regard for our nation. "But I hear, said he, that you are a magistrate, and consequently profess peace: why are you armed with a broad sword?" "I was a man, I said, before I was a magistrate; and, if it should ever happen, that law could not protect me, I must protect myself." He seemed about sixty years old, had a very cheerful countenance, and great appearance of good nature mixed with a certain dignity, which distinguished him from the crowd of ministers and officers, who attended him. Our conversation was interrupted by notice, that it was the time for evening prayers; and, when he rose, he said: "this house is yours, and I will visit you in it, after you have taken some refreshment." Soon after, his servants brought a roast fowl, a rice-pudding, and some other dishes, with papayas and very good pomegranates: my own basket supplied the rest of my supper. The room was hung with old red cloth, and decorated with pieces of porcelain and festoons of *English* bottles; the lamps were placed on the ground in large sea-shells; and the bed place was a recess, concealed by a chintz hanging,

hanging, opposite to the sofa, on which we had been sitting: though it was not a place that invited repose, and the gnats were inexpressibly troublesome, yet the fatigue of the day procured me very comfortable slumber. I was waked by the return of the king and his train; some of whom were *Arabs*; for I heard one of them say *buwa rákid*, or *he is sleeping*: there was immediate silence, and I passed the night with little disturbance, except from the unwelcome songs of the mosquitos. In the morning all was equally silent and solitary; the house appeared to be deserted; and I began to wonder what had become of TUMU'NI: he came at length with concern on his countenance, and told me, that the bearers had run away in the night; but that the king, who wished to see me in another of his houses, would supply me with bearers if he could not prevail on me to stay, till a boat could be sent for. I went immediately to the king, whom I found sitting on a raised sofa in a large room, the walls of which were adorned with sentences from the *Koràn* in very legible characters: about fifty of his subjects were seated on the ground in a semicircle before him; and my interpreter took his place in the midst of them. The good old king laughed heartily, when he heard the adventure of the night, and said: "you will now be my guest for a week, I hope; but seriously if you must return soon, I will send into the country for some peasants to carry you." He then apologized for the behaviour of *Sbaikh* SA'LIM, which he had heard from TUMU'NI, who told me afterwards, that he was much displeased with it, and would not fail to express his displeasure: he concluded with a long harangue on the advantage, which the *English* might derive, from sending a ship every year from *Bombay* to trade with his subjects, and on the wonderful cheapness of their commodities, especially of their cowries. Ridiculous as this idea might seem, it showed an enlargement of mind, a desire of promoting the interest of his people, and a sense of the benefits arising from trade, which could hardly have been expected from a petty *African* chief, and which, if he had been sovereign.

reign of *Yemen*, might have been expanded into rational projects proportioned to the extent of his dominions. I answered, that I was imperfectly acquainted with the commerce of *India*; but that I would report the substance of his conversation, and would ever bear testimony to his noble zeal for the good of his country, and to the mildness with which he governed it. As I had no inclination to pass a second night in the island, I requested leave to return without waiting for bearers: he seemed very sincere in pressing me to lengthen my visit, but had too much *Arabian* politeness to be importunate. We, therefore, parted; and, at the request of TUMU'NI, who assured me that little time would be lost in showing attention to one of the worthiest men in *Hinzuàn*, I made a visit to the Governor of the town, whose name was MUTEKKA; his manners were very pleasing, and he showed me some letters from the officers of the *Brilliant*, which appeared to flow warm from the heart, and contained the strongest eulogy of his courtesy and liberality. He insisted on filling my basket with some of the finest pomegranates I had ever seen; and I left the town, impressed with a very favourable opinion of the king and his governor. When I reascended the hill, attended by many of the natives, one of them told me in *Arabic*, that I was going to receive the highest mark of distinction, that it was in the king's power to show me; and he had scarce ended, when I heard the report of a single gun: *Sbaikh* AHMED had saluted me with the whole of his ordnance. I waved my hat, and said *Allar Acbar*: the people shouted, and I continued my journey, not without fear of inconvenience from excessive heat and the fatigue of climbing rocks. The walk, however, was not on the whole unpleasant: I sometimes rested in the valleys, and forded all the rivulets, which refreshed me with their coolness, and supplied me with exquisite water to mix with the juice of my pomegranates, and occasionally with brandy. We were overtaken by some peasants, who came from the hills by a nearer way, and brought the king's present of a cow with her calf, and a she-goat with two kids: they had apparently been

been selected for their beauty, and were brought safe to *Bengal*. The prospects, which had so greatly delighted me the preceding day, had not yet lost their charms, though they wanted the recommendation of novelty; but I must confess, that the most delightful object in that day's walk of near ten miles was the black frigate, which I discerned at sunset from a rock near the Prince's Gardens. Close to the town I was met by a native, who, perceiving me to be weary, opened a fine cocoa-nut, which afforded me a delicious draught: he informed me, that one of his countrymen had been punished that afternoon for a theft on board the *Crocodile*, and added, that, in his opinion, the punishment was no less just, than the offence was disgraceful to his country. The offender, as I afterwards learned, was a youth of a good family, who had married a daughter of old ALWI', but, being left alone for a moment in the cabin, and seeing a pair of blue morocco slippers, could not resist the temptation, and concealed them so ill under his gown, that he was detected with the mainer. This proves, that no principle of honour is instilled by education into the gentry of this island: even ALWI', when he had observed, that, "in the month of *Ramadán*, it was not lawful to paint "with *binna* or to tell lies," and when I asked, whether both were lawful all the rest of the year, answered, that "lies were innocent, if no "man was injured by them." TUMU'NI took his leave, as well satisfied as myself with our excursion: I told him, before his master, that I transferred also to him the dollars, which were due to me out of the three guineas; and that, if ever they should part, I should be very glad to receive him into my service in *India*. Mr. ROBERTS, the master of the ship, had passed the day with *Sayyad AHMED*, and had learned from him a few curious circumstances concerning the government of *Hinzuan*; which he found to be a monarchy limited by an aristocracy. The king, he was told, had no power of making war by his own authority; but, if the assembly of nobles, who were from time to time convened by him, resolved on a war with any of the neighbouring islands, they defrayed the

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the charges of it by voluntary contributions, in return for which they claimed as their own all the booty and captives, that might be taken. The hope of gain or the want of slaves is usually the real motive for such enterprizes, and ostensible pretexts are easily found: at that very time, he understood, they meditated a war, because they wanted hands for the following harvest. Their fleet consisted of sixteen or seventeen small vessels, which they manned with about two thousand five hundred islanders armed with muskets and cutlasses, or with bows and arrows. Near two years before they had possessed themselves of two towns in *Mayáta*, which they still kept and garrisoned. The ordinary expenses of the government were defrayed by a tax from two hundred villages; but the three principal towns were exempt from all taxes, except that they paid annually to the Chief *Mufli* a fortieth part of the value of all their moveable property, and from that payment neither the king nor the nobles claimed an exemption. The kingly authority, by the principles of their constitution, was considered as elective, though the line of succession had not in fact been altered since the first election of a Sultan. He was informed, that a wandering *Arab*, who had settled in the island, had, by his intrepidity in several wars, acquired the rank of a chieftain, and afterwards of a king with limited powers; and that he was the *Grand-father* of *Sbaikh AHMED*: I had been assured that Queen *HALI'MAH* was his *Grand-mother*; and, that he was the *sixth* king; but it must be remarked, that the words *jedd* and *jeddah* in *Arabick* are used for a male and female *ancestor* indefinitely; and,* without a correct pedigree of *AHMED*'s family, which I expected to procure but was disappointed, it would scarce be possible to ascertain the time, when his forefather obtained the highest rank in the government. In the year 1600 *Captain JOHN DAVIS*, who wrote an account of his voyage, found *Mayáta* governed by a king, and *Ansuame*, or *Hinzuàn*, by a queen, who showed him great marks of friendship: he anchored before the town of *Demos* (does he mean *Domóni*?) which was as large, he says, as *Plymouth*; and he

he concludes from the ruins around it, that it had once been a place of strength and grandeur. I can only say, that I observed no such ruins. Fifteen years after, Captain PEYTON and Sir THOMAS ROE touched at the *Comara* islands, and from their several accounts it appears, that an old sultaness then resided in *Hinzuàn*, but had a dominion paramount over all the isles, three of her sons governing *Mobila* in her name: if this be true, SOHAILI' and the successors of HALI'MAH must have lost their influence over the other islands; and, by renewing their dormant claim as it suits their convenience, they may always be furnished with a pretence for hostilities. Five generations of eldest sons would account for an hundred and seventy of the years, which have elapsed, since DAVIS and PEYTON found *Hinzuàn* ruled by a sultaness; and AHMED was of such an age, that his reign may be reckoned equal to a generation: it is probable, on the whole, that HALI'MAH was the widow of the first *Arabian* king, and that her mosque has been continued in repair by his descendants; so that we may reasonably suppose two centuries to have passed, since a single *Arab* had the courage and address to establish in that beautiful island a form of government, which, though bad enough in itself, appears to have been administered with advantage to the original inhabitants. We have lately heard of civil commotions in *Hinzuàn*, which, we may venture to pronounce, were not excited by any cruelty or violence of AHMED, but were probably occasioned by the insolence of an oligarchy naturally hostile to king and people. That the mountains in the *Comara* islands contain diamonds, and the precious metals, which are studiously concealed by the policy of the several governments, may be true, though I have no reason to believe it, and have only heard it asserted without evidence; but I hope, that neither an expectation of such treasures, nor of any other advantage, will ever induce an *European* power to violate the first principles of justice by assuming the sovereignty of *Hinzuàn*, which cannot answer a better purpose than that of supplying our fleets with seasonable refreshment; and, although the natives

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have an interest in receiving us with apparent cordiality, yet, if we wish their attachment to be unfeigned and their dealings just, we must set them an example of strict honesty in the performance of our engagements. In truth our nation is not cordially loved by the inhabitants of *Hinzuàn*, who, as it commonly happens, form a general opinion from a few instances of violence or breach of faith. Not many years ago an *European*, who had been hospitably received and liberally supported at *Matfamido*, behaved rudely to a young married woman, who, being of low degree, was walking veiled through a street in the evening: her husband ran to protect her, and resented the rudeness, probably with menaces, possibly with actual force; and the *European* is said to have given him a mortal wound with a knife or bayonet, which he brought, after the scuffle, from his lodging. This foul murder, which the law of nature would have justified the magistrate in punishing with death, was reported to the king, who told the governor (I use the very words of *ALWI'*) that "it would be wiser to hush it up." *ALWI'* mentioned a civil case of his own, which ought not to be concealed. When he was on the coast of *Africa* in the dominions of a very savage prince, a small *European* vessel was wrecked; and the prince not only seized all that could be saved from the wreck, but claimed the captain and the crew as his slaves, and treated them with ferocious insolence. *ALWI'* assured me, that, when he heard of the accident, he hastened to the prince, fell prostrate before him, and by tears and importunity prevailed on him to give the *Europeans* their liberty; that he supported them at his own expense, enabled them to build another vessel, in which they sailed to *Hinzuàn*, and departed thence for *Europe* or *India*: he showed me the Captain's promissory notes for fums, which to an *African* trader must be a considerable object, but which were no price for liberty, safety, and, perhaps, life, which his good, though disinterested, offices had procured. I lamented, that, in my situation, it was wholly out of my power to assist *ALWI'* in obtaining justice; but he urged me to deliver an *Arabick* letter

etter from him, enclosing the notes, to the Governor General, who, as he said, knew him well ; and I complied with his request. Since it is possible, that a substantial defence may be made by the person thus accused of injustice, I will not name either him or the vessel, which he had commanded ; but, if he be living, and if this paper should fall into his hands, he may be induced to reflect how highly it imports our national honour, that a people, whom we call savage, but who administer to our convenience, may have no just cause to reproach us with a violation of our contracts.

A CONVERSATION

WITH

ABRAM, AN ABYSSINIAN,

CONCERNING

THE CITY OF GWENDER AND THE SOURCES OF THE NILE.

BY THE PRESIDENT.

HAVING been informed, that a native of *Abyssinia* was in *Calcutta*, who spoke *Arabick* with tolerable fluency, I sent for and examined him attentively on several subjects, with which he seemed likely to be acquainted: his answers were so simple and precise, and his whole demeanour so remote from any suspicion of falsehood, that I made a minute of his examination, which may not perhaps be unacceptable to the Society. *Gwender*, which BERNIER had long ago pronounced a *Capital City*, though LUDOLF asserted it to be only a *Military Station*, and conjectured, that in a few years it would wholly disappear, is certainly, according to ABRAM, the *Metropolis* of *Abyssinia*. He says, that it is nearly as large and as populous as *Misr* or *Kábera*, which he saw on his pilgrimage to *Jerusalem*; that it lies between two broad and deep rivers, named *Caba* and *Ancrīb*, both which flow into the *Níl* at the distance of about fifteen days' journey; that all the walls of the houses are of a red stone, and the roofs of thatch; that the streets are like those of *Calcutta*, but that the
ways,

ways, by which the king passes, are very spacious ; that the palace, which has a plaistered roof, resembles a fortress, and stands in the heart of the City ; that the markets of the town abound in pulse, and have also wheat and barley, but no rice ; that sheep and goats are in plenty among them, and that the inhabitants are extremely fond of milk, cheese, and whey, but that *the country people* and *soldiery* make no scruple of drinking the blood and eating the raw flesh of an ox, which they cut without caring whether he is dead or alive ; that this savage diet is, however, by no means general. Almonds, he says, and dates are not found in his country, but grapes and peaches ripen there, and in some of the distant provinces, especially at *Cárudár*, wine is made in abundance ; but a kind of mead is the common inebriating liquor of the *Abyssinians*. The late King was *Tilca Mabút* (the first of which words means *root or origin*), and the present, his brother *Tilca Jerjis*. He represents the royal forces at *Gwender* as considerable, and asserts, perhaps at random, that near forty thousand horse are in that station : the troops are armed, he says, with muskets, lances, bows and arrows, cimeters, and hangers. The council of state consists, by his account, of about forty Ministers, to whom almost all the executive part of government is committed. He was once in the service of a *Vazir*, in whose train he went to see the fountains of the *Nile* or *Abey*, usually called *Alwey*, about eight days' journey from *Gwender* : he saw three springs, one of which rises from the ground with a great noise, that may be heard at the distance of five or six miles. I showed him the description of the *Nile* by GREGORY of *Ambara*, which LUDOLF has printed in *Ethiopic* : he both read and explained it with great facility ; whilst I compared his explanation with the *Latin* version, and found it perfectly exact. He asserted of his own accord, that the description was conformable to all that he had seen and heard in *Ethiopia* ; and, for that reason, I annex it. When I interrogated him on the languages and learning of his country, he answered, that six or seven tongues at least were spoken there ; that the most elegant idiom, which the King used, was the

Amharick ;

Amharick ; that the *Ethiopick* contained, as it is well known, many *Ara-bick* words ; that, besides their sacred books, as the prophecy of ENOCH, and others, they had histories of *Abyssinia* and various literary compositions ; that their language was taught in schools and colleges, of which there were several in the Metropolis. He said, that no *Abyssinian* doubted the existence of the royal prison called *Wabinin*, situated on a very lofty mountain, in which the sons and daughters of their Kings were confined ; but that, from the nature of the thing, a particular description of it could not be obtained. “ All these matters, said he, are explained, I suppose, “ in the writings of YA'KU'B, whom I saw thirteen years ago in *Gwen-* “ *der* : he was a physician, and had attended the King's brother, who “ was also a *Vazir*, in his last illness : the prince died ; yet the king loved “ YA'KU'B, and, indeed, all the court and people loved him : the king “ received him in his palace as a guest, supplied him with every thing, “ that he could want ; and, when he went to see the sources of the *Nile* “ and other curiosities (for he was extremely curious), he received every “ possible assistance and accommodation from the royal favour : he un- “ derstood the languages, and wrote and collected many books, which “ he carried with him.” It was impossible for me to doubt, especially when he described the person of YA'KU'B, that he meant JAMES BRUCE, Esq. who travelled in the dress of a *Syrian* physician, and probably assumed with judgement a name well known in *Abyssinia* : he is still revered on *Mount Sinai* for his sagacity in discovering a spring, of which the monastery was in great need ; he was known at *Jedda* by MR MOHAMMED HUSSAIN, one of the most intelligent *Mahomedans* in *India* ; and I have seen him mentioned with great regard in a letter from an *Arabian* merchant at *Mokhá*. It is probable, that he entered *Abyssinia* by the way of *Musuwwa*, a town in the possession of the *Muselmans*, and returned through the desert mentioned by GREGORY in his description of the *Nile*. We may hope, that Mr. BRUCE will publish an account of his interesting travels, with a version of the book of ENOCH, which

no man but himself can give us with fidelity. By the help of *Abyssinian* records, great light may be thrown on the history of *Yemen* before the time of MUHAMMED, since it is generally known, that four *Ethiop* kings successively reigned in that country, having been invited over by the natives to oppose the tyrant DIU' NAWA's, and that they were in their turn expelled by the arms of the *Himyarick* princes with the aid of ANUSHIRVAN king of *Persia*, who did not fail, as it usually happens, to keep in subjection the people, whom he had consented to relieve. If the annals of this period can be restored, it must be through the histories of *Abyssinia*, which will also correct the many errors of the best *Asiatick* writers on the *Nile*, and the countries which it fertilises.

THE COURSE OF THE NILE.

THE *Nile*, which the *Abyssinians* know by the names of *Abéy* and *Alawy*, or the *Giant*, gushes from several springs at a place, called *Sucút*, lying on the highest part of *Dengalá* near *Gojjám*, to the west of *Bajemdir*, and the lake of *Dara* or *Wed*; into which it runs with so strong and rapid a current, that it mixes not with the other waters, but rides or swims, as it were, above them.

All the rains, that fall in *Abyssinia* and descend in torrents from the hills, all streams and rivers, small and great, except the *Hanáxó*, which washes the plains of *Hengót*, and the *Hawáß* which flows by *Dewár* and *Fetgár*, are collected by this king of waters, and, like vassals, attend his march: thus enforced he rushes, like a hero exulting in his strength, and hastens to fertilise the land of *Egypt*, on which no rain falls. We must except also those *Ethiopian* rivers, which rise in countries bordering on the ocean, as the kingdoms of *Cambát*, *Gurájy*, *Wáßy*, *Náriyah*, *Gáßy*, *Wéj*, and *Zinjiro*, whose waters are disembogued into the sea.

When the *Alawy* has passed the Lake, it proceeds between *Gojjám* and *Bajemdir*, and, leaving them to the west and east, pursues a direct course towards *Anbárd*, the skirts of which it bathes, and then turns again to the west, touching the borders of *Walaka*; whence it rolls along *Múgár* and *Shawai*, and, passing *Bazáwá* and *Gongá*, descends into the lowlands of *Shankila*, the country of the Blacks: thus it forms a sort of spiral round the province of *Gojjám*, which it keeps for the most part on its right.

Here

Here it bends a little to the east, from which quarter, before it reaches the districts of *Sennár*, it receives two large rivers, one called *Tacazzzy*, which runs from *Tegri*, and the other, *Gwangue*, which comes from *Dembeid*.

After it has visited *Sennár*, it washes the land of *Dongolá*, and proceeds thence to *Nubia*, where it again turns eastward, and reaches a country named *Abrin*, where no vessels can be navigated, by reason of the rocks and crags, which obstruct the channel. The inhabitants of *Sennár* and *Nubia* may constantly drink of its water, which lies to the east of them like a strong bulwark; but the merchants of *Abyssinia*, who travel to *Egypt*, leave the *Nile* on their right, as soon as they have passed *Nubia*, and are obliged to traverse a desert of sand and gravel, in which for fifteen days they find neither wood nor water; they meet it again in the country of *Relf* or *Upper Egypt*, where they find boats on the river, or ride on its banks, refreshing themselves with its salutary streams.

It is asserted by some travellers, that, when the *Alarwy* has passed *Sennár* and *Dongolá*, but before it enters *Nubia*, it divides itself; that the great body of water flows entire into *Egypt*, where the smaller branch (the *Niger*) runs westward, not so as to reach *Barbary*, but towards the country of *Alwadh*, whence it rushes into the great sea. The truth of this fact I have verified, partly by my own observation, and partly by my inquiries among intelligent men; whose answers seemed the more credible, because, if so prodigious a mass of water were to roll over *Egypt* with all its wintry increase, not the land only, but the houses, and towns, of the *Egyptians* must be overflowed.

ON
THE INDIAN GAME OF CHESS.

BY THE PRESIDENT.

IF evidence be required to prove that chess was invented by the *Hindus*, we may be satisfied with the testimony of the *Persians*; who, though as much inclined as other nations to appropriate the ingenious inventions of a foreign people, unanimously agree, that the game was imported from the west of *India*, together with the charming fables of VISHNUSARMAN, in the sixth century of our era: it seems to have been immemorially known in *Hindustan* by the name of *Chaturanga*, that is, the four *anga's*, or *members*, of an army, which are said in the *Amaracósha* to be *hastyas'-warat'kapádútam*, or *elephants, horses, chariots, and foot-soldiers*; and, in this sense, the word is frequently used by Epick poets in their descriptions of real armies. By a natural corruption of the pure *Sanscrit* word, it was changed by the old *Persians* into *Chatrang*, but the *Arabs*, who soon after took possession of their country, had neither the initial nor final letter of that word in their alphabet, and consequently altered it further into *Sbatranj*, which found its way presently into the modern *Persian*, and at length into the dialects of *India*, where the true derivation of the name is known only to the learned: thus has a very significant word in the sacred language of the *Bráhmans* been transformed by successive changes into *axedrez, scacchi, échecs, chess*, and, by a whimsical concurrence of circumstances, given birth to the *English* word *check*; and even a name to the *Exchequer* of *Great Britain*. The beautiful simplicity and extreme perfection of the game, as it is commonly played in *Europe* and

Asia, convince me, that it was invented by one effort of some great genius ; not completed by gradual improvements, but formed, to use the phrase of *Italian* criticks, *by the first intention* ; yet of this simple game, so exquisitely contrived, and so certainly invented in *India*, I cannot find any account in the classical writings of the *Bráhmans*. It is, indeed, confidently asserted, that *Sanscrit* books on Chess exist in this country, and, if they can be procured at *Banáres*, they will assuredly be sent to us : at present I can only exhibit a description of a very ancient *Indian* game of the same kind ; but more complex, and, in my opinion, more modern, than the simple Chess of the *Persians*. This game is also called *Chaturanga*, but, more frequently *Chaturáñi*, or the *four Kings*, since it is played by four persons representing as many princes, two allied armies combating on each side : the description is taken from the *Bhagwíshya Purán*, in which YUDHISHT'HIR is represented conversing with VYÁSA, who explains at the king's request the form of the fictitious warfare and the principal rules of it : " having marked *eight* squares on all sides, says the Sage, place the *red* army to the east, the *green* to the south, the *yellow* to the west, and the *black* to the north : let the *elephant* stand on the left of the *king* ; next to him, the *horse* ; then, the *boat* ; and, before them all, four *foot-soldiers* ; but the *boat* must be placed in the *angle* of the board." From this passage it clearly appears, that an army, with its four *anga's*, must be placed on each side of the board, since an *elephant* could not stand, in any other position, on the *left* hand of each *king* ; and RA'DHACA'NT informed me, that the board consisted, like ours, of *sixty-four* squares, half of them occupied by the forces, and half, vacant : he added, that this game is mentioned in the oldest law-books, and that it was invented by the wife of RA'VAN, king of *Lancà*, in order to amuse him with an image of war, while his metropolis was closely besieged by RA'MA in the second age of the world. He had not heard the story told by FIRDAUSI near the close of the *Sháhnámah*, and it was probably carried into *Persia* from *Cányacurja* by BORZU, the favourite physician, thence

thence called *Vaidyapriya*, of the great ANU'SHIRAVA'N; but he said, that the *Bráhmans* of *Gaur*, or *Bengal*, were once celebrated for superior skill in the game, and that his father, together with his spiritual preceptor JAGANNA'T'H, now living at *Tribéni*, had instructed two young *Bráhmans* in all the rules of it, and had sent them to *Jayanagar* at the request of the late *Rájá*, who had liberally rewarded them. A *ship*, or *boat*, is substituted, we see, in this complex game for the *rat'h*, or armed *chariot*, which the *Bengalese* pronounce *rot'h*, and which the *Persians* changed into *rokb*, whence came the *rook* of some *European* nations; as the *vierge* and *fol* of the *French* are supposed to be corruptions of *ferz* and *fil*, the *prime minister* and *elephant* of the *Persians* and *Arabs*: it were vain to seek an etymology of the word *rook* in the modern *Persian* language; for, in all the passages extracted from FIRDAUSI and JA'MI, where *rokb* is conceived to mean a *hero*, or a *fabulous bird*, it signifies, I believe, no more than a *check* or a *face*; as in the following description of a procession in *Egypt*: “when a thousand youths, like cypresses, box-trees, “and firs, with locks as fragrant, cheeks as fair, and bosoms as delicate, “as lilies of the valley, were marching gracefully along, thou wouldst “have said, that the new spring was turning his face (not, as HYDE “translates the words, *carried on rokhs*) from station to station;” and, as to the battle of the *duwázdeb rokb*, which D'HERBELOT supposes to mean *douze preux chevaliers*, I am strongly inclined to think, that the phrase only signifies a combat of *twelve persons face to face*, or six on a side. I cannot agree with my friend RA'DHA'CA'NT, that a *ship* is properly introduced in this imaginary warfare instead of a *chariot*, in which the old *Indian* warriors constantly fought; for, though the *king* might be supposed to sit in a *car*, so that the four *anga's* would be complete, and though it may often be necessary in a real campaign to pass rivers or lakes, yet no river is marked on the *Indian*, as it is on the *Chinese*, chess-board, and the intermixture of ships with horses, elephants, and infantry embattled on a plain, is an absurdity not to be defended. The use of *dice* may,

may, perhaps, be justified in a representation of war, in which *fortune* has unquestionably a great share, but it seems to exclude chess from the rank, which has been assigned to it, among the sciences, and to give the game before us the appearance of *whist*, except that pieces are used openly, instead of cards which are held concealed: nevertheless we find, that the moves in the game described by VYĀSA were to a certain degree regulated by *chance*; for he proceeds to tell his royal pupil, that, “if *cinq*ue be thrown, the *king* or a *pawn* must be moved; if *quatre*, the *elephant*; if *trois*, the *horse*; and if *deux*, the *boat*.”

He then proceeds to the moves: “the *king* passes freely on all sides “ but over *one* square only; and with the same limitation, the *pawn* “ moves, but he advances straight forward, and kills his enemy through “ an angle; the *elephant* marches in all directions, as far as his driver “ pleases; the *horse* runs obliquely, traversing three squares; and the “ *ship* goes over two squares diagonally.” The elephant, we find, has the powers of our *queen*, as we are pleased to call the *minister*, or *general*, of the *Persians*, and the *ship* has the motion of the piece, to which we give the unaccountable appellation of *bishop*, but with a restriction, which must greatly lessen his value.

The bard next exhibits a few general rules and superficial directions for the conduct of the game: “the *pawns* and the *ship* both kill and may “ be voluntarily killed; while the *king*, the *elephant*, and the *horse* may “ slay the foe, but cannot expose themselves to be slain. Let each player “ preserve his own forces with extreme care, securing his *king* above “ all, and not sacrificing a superior, to keep an inferior, piece.” Here the commentator on the *Purān* observes, that, the *horse*, who has the choice of *eight* moves from any central position, must be preferred to the *ship*, who has only the choice of *four*; but this argument would not have equal weight in the common game, where the *bishop* and *tower* command

command a whole line, and where a knight is always of less value than a tower in action, or the bishop of that side, on which the attack is begun. "It is by the overbearing power of the *elephant*, that the king fights boldly; let the whole army, therefore, be abandoned, in order to secure the *elephant*: the king must never place one elephant before another, according to the rule of GO'TAMA, unless he be compelled by want of room, for he would thus commit a dangerous fault; and, if he can slay one of two hostile elephants, he must destroy that on his left hand." The last rule is extremely obscure; but, as GO'TAMA was an illustrious lawyer and philosopher, he would not have condescended to leave directions for the game of *Chaturanga*, if it had not been held in great estimation by the ancient sages of *India*.

All that remains of the passage, which was copied for me by RA'DHA-CANT and explained by him, relates to the several modes, in which a partial success or complete victory may be obtained by any one of the four players; for we shall see, that, as if a dispute had arisen between two allies, one of the kings may assume the command of all the forces, and aim at separate conquest. First; "When any one king has placed himself on the square of another king, which advantage is called *Sinbāsana*, or *the throne*, he wins a stake; which is doubled, if he kill the adverse monarch, when he seizes his place; and, if he can seat himself on the throne of his ally, he takes the command of the whole army." Secondly; "If he can occupy successively the thrones of all three princes, he obtains the victory, which is named *Chaturdji*, and, the stake is doubled, if he kill the last of the three, just before he takes possession of his throne; but, if he kill him on his throne, the stake is quadrupled." Thus, as the commentator remarks, in a real warfare, a king may be considered as victorious, when he seizes the metropolis of his adversary; but, if he can destroy his foe, he displays greater heroism, and relieves his people from any further solicitude. "Both in gaining the
" *Sinbāsana*

“ *Simbāsana* and the *Cbatūrdjī*, says VYA'SA, the king must be supported
 “ by the *elephants* or by all the forces united.” Thirdly ; “ When one
 “ player has his own king on the board, but the king of his partner has
 “ been taken, he may replace his captive ally, if he can seize both the
 “ adverse kings ; or, if he cannot effect their capture, he may exchange
 “ his king for one of them, against the general rule, and thus redeem
 “ the allied prince, who will supply his place.” This advantage has the
 name of *Nrīpācrist'a*, or *recovered by the king* ; and the *Naucācrist'a*
 seems to be analogous to it, but confined to the case of *ships*. Fourthly ;
 “ If a pawn can march to any square on the opposite extremity of the
 “ board, except that of the king, or that of the ship, he assumes what-
 “ ever power belonged to that square ; and this promotion is called *Sbat'-*
 “ *pada*, or the *six strides*.” Here we find the rule, with a singular ex-
 ception, concerning the advancement of *pawns*, which often occasions a
 most interesting struggle at our common chess, and which has furnished
 the poets and moralists of *Arabia* and *Persia* with many lively reflections on
 human life. It appears, that “ this privilege of *Sbat'pada* was not allow-
 “ able, in the opinion of GO'TAMA, when a player had three pawns on
 “ the board ; but, when only one pawn and one ship remained, the
 “ pawn might advance even to the square of a king or a ship, and assume
 “ the power of either.” Fifthly ; “ According to the *Rācshasa's*, or
 “ *giants* (that is, the people of *Lancà*, where the game was invented),
 “ there could be neither victory nor defeat, if a king were left on the
 “ plain without force ; a situation which they named *Cācācrist'ba*.”
 Sixthly ; “ If three ships happen to meet, and the fourth ship can be
 “ brought up to them in the remaining angle, this has the name of *Vrī-*
 “ *bannaucā* ; and the player of the fourth seizes all the others.” Two
 or three of the remaining couplets are so dark, either from an error in
 the manuscript or from the antiquity of the language, that I could not
 understand the *Pandit's* explanation of them, and suspect that they gave
 even him very indistinct ideas ; but it would be easy, if it were worth
 while,

while, to play at the game by the preceding rules; and a little practice would, perhaps, make the whole intelligible. One circumstance, in this extract from the *Purāṇ*, seems very surprizing: all games of hazard are positively forbidden by MENU, yet the game of *Chaturanga*, in which dice are used, is taught by the great VYA'SA himself, whose lawtract appears with that of GO'TAMA among the eighteen books, which form the *Dharmasāstra*; but, as RA'DHA'CA'NT and his preceptor JAGANNA'T'H are both employed by government in compiling a Digest of *Indian* laws, and as both of them, especially the venerable Sage of *Tribéni*, understand the game, they are able, I presume, to assign reasons, why it should have been excepted from the general prohibition, and even openly taught by ancient and modern *Bráhmans*.

ऽ इत्यथ शान्तिः ॥ तत्र नमः सर्वे को येषु पुत्रदया गगनाय कां विष्णुं निष्कस्य वः पाया दक्षा या
 द्गणनादोर्कः ॥ अ वः पादा ॥ १ ॥ वा निवेद्या भाला रुति त्रा रुवी ॥ सुगन्धुं यि सना द्द्रष्टु द ह्य च ह्य क
 खा प मा ॥ २ ॥ द वः ॥ य म व मृद्वि निश्चिना वात्र दिना लाः का ला मया ब्राह्म ल व लो क त क ॥ ३ ॥
 म्रा प स ॥ ४ ॥ ति वि रु नी ॥ ५ ॥ पि न द्व पि ग ल क्त म ई टा ट वी म पि ता रु या द्भः ॥ अ य द प्र का
 मि त व र कि म व मः ॥ ६ ॥ की म त वा कु त ना नि य त द या नु ह्नी म त वा द नू ॥ ति वि द्र ग
 प्र मि द्भः ॥ ७ ॥ दि द नि ज ट ग मि वा क म य म ना ॥ वि वा न क ति स्म ग तु दा श्व लु श र व द ॥ त श्चा न्न य
 न्न र प तिः ॥ ८ ॥ य म क प दी गी ला म्न र तिल को पि पु द प्य म द्भः ॥ त श्चा द रू द्र त न द्यः ॥ पु ल स कि
 ना ना मा नृ पु नृ क ल र मा न म ह द्भः ॥ ९ ॥ दा त वी न स ल लु अ क प द्भः ॥ प्र नु न र्भ म क ल नि नि
 व द्भः ॥ द द्भः ॥ य न अ भि ला ज लि तु च्छि द्भः ॥ दा त श्चा नि द्र रा ज्ञ सु सा यः ॥ त श्चा क रू द्र त न सारु व
 त्र क वी न ॥ १० ॥ अ व मु व वं ॥ ति रु ग न न ग ती नः ॥ ११ ॥ इ स ॥ १२ ॥ य द श्चा यु तं सु नी त्र द्रा ता घा
 ॥ अ व य तिः ॥ १३ ॥ म रू सु स तिः ॥ १४ ॥ त श्चा वि म व का न क ति च नि त प्र श्चा त क तिः ॥ १५ ॥ इ मा ब्र ह्म
 ॥ इ व व र प ति न रू क्त रू द्भः ॥ १६ ॥ दा मा ली ॥ १७ ॥ द्भः ॥ क व ल श्चा य श्चा अ य म ग म ग र द्रा
 ॥ १८ ॥ अ म य द क मि नि च रा लु सा नि प व ॥ द य न् ॥ द द्भः ॥ त्रा निः ॥ पु ना नि व र र भु षः
 न नः ॥ १९ ॥ नि न रू क्त अ च नि त्र य ता र्जितः ॥ २० ॥ क त्र श्रा ग न यः ॥ अ का अ नि न स तु वि ष न् ॥
 पु ता य द्भः ॥ २१ ॥ कालु द ॥ २२ ॥ श्वा दि षा ॥ २३ ॥ अ य म न्ना म्प रा अ ना र्ज रा न प कि
 ना य म ॥ २४ ॥ त्र या न व व क्मा म्प रा पा रा न व द य द्रा रा द वः ॥ अ न व त न क न क द्या न र्द ग
 नि द मा ॥ २५ ॥ न य द्या य न रा नि न रू व न मा व्र या ग द्भः ॥ २६ ॥ रू पि ना मा रू त ॥ २७ ॥ य कि वि र र ॥
 रू क्वा त्र व ॥ २८ ॥ अ प्र नु य ता रू प ॥ २९ ॥ अ य या ग य ना क्मा ति अ य त ॥ अ य त ॥ अ य न य ॥
 न रू ॥ ३० ॥ अ य न रू जा ना इ श्चि ति य श्च द न्ना य ना य पि ता म्भ द्रा वि द द य ना आ म न्न
 वा द्रा गु ॥ ३१ ॥ अ पि च रा य न श्रा ग त मा ग त य वि द ति ता म्भ द य ना ना वि व य ना नि व य पा द
 व ना वि र लि न जा द्रा ॥ ३२ ॥ अ न्ना म्भ म ग ॥ ३३ ॥ इ ति रु द्रा य त ॥ ३४ ॥ य ना रू य त
 ॥ ३५ ॥ वि नु य क्त ना म ह पान न न्म ॥ ३६ ॥ ति मा व ता नि ॥

AN

INDIAN GRANT OF LAND

IN Y.C. 1018,

LITERALLY TRANSLATED FROM THE SANSKRIT,

By THE PRESIDENT.

As explained by RA'MALO'CHAN PANDIT, communicated by General CARNAC.

O'M. VICTORY *and* ELEVATION !

STANZAS.

MAY He, who in all affairs claims precedence in adoration ; may that *Gan'andyaca*, averting calamity, preserve you from danger !

2. May that SIVA constantly preserve you, on whose head shines (GANGA) the daughter of JAHNU resembling the pure crescent rising from the summit of SUMERU ! (*a compound word of sixteen syllables*).

3. May that God, the cause of success, the cause of felicity, who keeps, placed even by himself on his forehead a section of the moon with cool beams, drawn in the form of a line resembling that in the infinitely bright spike of a fresh-blown *Cetaca* (who is) adorned with a grove of thick red locks tied with the Prince of Serpents, be always present and favourable to you !

4. The son of JI'MU'TACE'TU ever affectionate, named JI'MU'TAVA'-HANA, who, surely, preserved (the Serpent) S'ANC'HACHU'D'A from *Garrud'a* (*the Eagle of VISHNU*), was famed in the three worlds, having neglected his own body, as if it had been grass, for the sake of others.

5. (*Two couplets in rhyme.*) In his family was a monarch (*named*) CAPARDIN (or, *with thick hair*, a title of MAHA'DE'VA), chief of the race of SI'LA'RA, repressing the insolence of his foes; and from him came a son, named PULAS'ACTI, equal in encreasing glory to the sun's bright circle.

6. When that son of CAPARDIN was a new-born infant, through fear of him, homage was paid by all his collected enemies, with water held aloft in their hands, to the delight of his realm.

7. From him came a son, the only warrior on earth, named SRI'VAP-PUVANNA, a Hero in the theatre of battle.

8. His son, called S'RI' JHANJHA, was highly celebrated, and the preserver of *his country*; he afterwards became the Sovereign of *Gôgni*: he had a beautiful form.

9. From him came a son, whose-~~renown-was-far-extended-and-who-~~confounded-the-mind-with-his-wonderful-acts, the fortunate BAJJADA DE'VA: he was a monarch, a gem in-the-diadem-of-the-world's-circumference; who used only the forcible weapon of his two arms readily on the plain of combat; and in whose bosom the Fortune of Kings herself amorously played, as in *the bosom* of the foe of MURA (or VISHNU).

* 10. Like JAYANTA, son to the foe of VRITTA (or INDRA), like
SHAN-

SIANMUC'HA (or CARTICE'YA) son to PURA'RI (or MAHA'DE'VA) then sprang from him a fortunate son, with a true heart, invincible ;

11. Who in liberality was CARNA before our eyes, in truth even YUDHISHTHIRA, in glory a blazing Sun, and the rod of CA'LA (or YAMA, *judge of the infernal regions*) to his enemies ;

12. By whom the great counsellors, who were under his protection, and others near him, are preserved in this world : he is a conqueror, named with propriety S'ARANA'GATA VAJRAPANJARADE'VA.

13. By whom when this world was over-shadowed with-continual-presents-of-gold, for his liberality he was named JAGADARTHI (or *Enriching the World*) in the midst of the three regions of the universe.

14. Those Kings assuredly, whoever they may be, who are endued with minds capable of ruling their respective dominions, praise him for the greatness of his veracity, generosity, and valour ; and to those princes, who are deprived of their domains, and seek his protection, he allots a firm settlement : may he, the Grandfather of the RA'YA, be victorious ! *He is* the spiritual guide of *his* counsellors, and *they are* his pupils. Yet farther.

15. He, by whom the title of GO'MMA'YA was conferred on a person who attained the object of his desire ; by whom the realm, shaken by a man named E'YAPADE'VA, was even made firm, and by whom, being the prince of *Mamalambura* (I suppose, *Mambéi*, or *Bombay*) security from fear was given to me broken with affliction ; He was the King, named S'RI' VIRUDANCA : how can he be otherwise painted ? *Here six syllables are effaced in one of the Grants ; and this verse is not in the other.*

16. His son *was* named BAJJADADE'VA, a gem on the forehead of monarchs, eminently skilled in morality; whose deep thoughts all the people, clad in horrid armour, praise even to this day.

17. Then was born his brother the prince ARICE'SARI (a lion among his foes), the best of good men; who, by overthrowing the strong mountain of his proud enemies, did the act of a thunder-bolt; having formed great designs even in his childhood, and having seen the Lord of the Moon (MAHA'DE'VA) *standing* before him, he marched by his father's order, attended by his troops, and by valour subdued the world.

Yet more———.

18. Having raised up his slain foe on his sharp sword, he so afflicted the women in the hostile palaces, that their forelocks fell disordered, their garlands of bright flowers dropped from their necks on the vases of their breasts, and the black lustre of their eyes disappeared.

19. A *warriour*, the plant of whose fame grows up over the temple of BRAHMA's Egg (the universe), from the repeated-watering-of-it-with-the-drops-that-fell-from-the-eyes-of-the-wives-of-his-slaughtered-foe.

Afterwards by the multitude of his innate virtues (*then follows a compound word of an hundred and fifty-two syllables*) the-fortunate-ARICE'SARI-DE'VARA'JA-Lord-of-the-great-circle-adorned-with-all-the-company-of-princes-with-VAJRAPANJARA-of-whom-men-seek-the-protection-an-elephant's-hook-in-the-forehead-of-the-world-pleased-with-increasing-vice-a-Flamingo-bird-in-the-pool-decked-with-flowers-like-those-of-paradise-and-with-A'DITYA-PANDITA-chief-of-the-districts-of-the-world-through-the-liberality-of-the-lord-of-the-Western-Sea-holder-of-innate-knowledge-who-bears-a-golden-eagle-on-his-standard-descended-from-the-

the-flock-of JI'MU'TAVA'IIANA-king-of-the-race-of-Silāra-Sovereign-of-the-City-of-Tagara-Supreme-ruler-of-exalted-counsellors-assembled-when-extended-fame-had-been-attained (*the monarch* thus described) governs the-whole-region-of-Gōncana-consisting-of-fourteen-hundred-villages-with-cities-and-other-places-comprehended-in-many-districts-acquired-by-his-arm. Thus he supports the burden of thought concerning this domain. The Chief-Minister S'RI' VA'SAPAIYA and the very-religiously-purified S'RI' VA'RDHIYAPAIYA being at this time present, he, the fortunate ARICE'SARIDE'VARA'JA, Sovereign of the great circle, *thus addresses* even all who inhabit-the-city-S'RI' STHA'NACA (*or the Mansion of LACSHMI*), his-own-kinsmen-and-others-there-assembled, princes-counsellors-priests-ministers-superiors-inferiors-subject-to-his-commands, also the-lords-of districts,-the-Governors-of-towns-chiefs-of-villages-the-masters-of-families-employed-or-unemployed-servants-of-the-King-and-his-countrymen. Thus he greets all-the-holy-men-and-others-inhabiting-the-city-of *Itanyamana*: reverence be to you, as it is becoming, with all the marks of respect, salutation, and praise!

STANZA.

Wealth is inconstant; youth, destroyed in an instant; and life, placed between the teeth of CRITANTA (*or YAMA before mentioned*).

Nevertheless neglect *is shown* to the felicity of departed ancestors. Oh! how astonishing are the efforts of men!

And thus.—Youth is publicly swallowed-up-by-the-giantess Old-Age admitted-into-its-inner mansion; and the bodily-frame-is-equally-obnoxious-to-the-assault-of-death-of-age-and-the-misery-born-with-man-of separation-between-united-friends-like-falling-from-heaven-into-the-lower regions: riches and life are two things more-moveable-than-a-drop-of water-trembling-on-the-leaf-of-a-lotos-shaken-by-the-wind; and

and the world is like-the-first delicate-foliage-of-a-plantain-tree. Considering this in secret with a firm dispassionate understanding, and also the fruit of liberal donations mentioned *by the wife, I called to mind these*

STANZAS.

1. In the *Satya*, *Trétá*, and *Dwáper* Ages, great piety was celebrated : but in this *Caliyuga* the *Muni's* have nothing to commend but liberality.

2. Not so productive of fruit is learning, not so productive is piety, as liberality, say the *Muni's*, in this *Cali* Age. And, thus was it said by the Divine VYA'SA :

3. Gold *was* the first offspring of Fire ; the Earth *is* the daughter of VISHNU, and kine are the children of the Sun : the three worlds, *therefore*, are assuredly given by him, who makes a gift of Gold, Earth, and Cattle.

4. *Our* deceased fathers clap their hands, *our* Grandfathers exult : *saying*, " a donor of land is born in our family : he will redeem us."

5. A donation of land to good persons, for holy pilgrimages, and on the (five) solemn days of the moon, is the mean of passing over the deep boundless ocean of the world.

6. White parasols, and elephants mad with pride (the *insignia* of royalty) *are* the flowers of a grant of land : the fruit *is* INDRA in heaven.

Thus, confirming the declarations of the-ancient-*Muni's*-learned-in-the distinction-between-justice-and-injustice, for the sake of benefit to my mother, my father, and myself, on the fifteenth of the bright moon of *Cártica*, in the middle of the year *Pingala* (perhaps of the *Serpent*),
when

when nine hundred and forty years, save one, are reckoned as past from the time of King S'ACA, or, in figures, the year 939, of the bright moon of *Gārtica* 15 (that is $1708 - 939 = 769$ years ago from Y.C. 1787. The moon being then full and eclipsed, I having bathed in the opposite sea resembling-the-girdles-round-the-waist-of-the-female-Earth, tinged-with-a-variety-of-rays-like-many-exceedingly-bright-rubies,-pearls-and-other-gems, with-water-whose-mud-was-become-musk-through-the-frequent-bathing-of-the-fragrant-bosom-of-beautiful-Goddeses-rising-up-after-having-dived-in-it;-and having offered to the sun, the divine luminary, the-gem-of-one-circle-of-heaven, eye-of-the-three-worlds, Lord of-the lotos, a dish embellished-with-flowers-of-various-forms (this dish is filled with the plant *Darbba*, rice in the husk, different flowers, and sandal) have granted to him, who has viewed the preceptor of the Gods and of Demons, who has adored the Sovereign Deity the-husband-of-AMBICA' (or DURGA'), has sacrificed-caused-others-to-sacrifice,-has read-caused-others-to-read-and-has-performed-the-rest-of-the-fix (Sacerdotal) functions; who-is-eminently-skilled-in-the-whole-business-of-performing-sacrifices, who-has-held-up the-root-and-stalk-of-the-sacred-lotos; who-inhabits-the-city-SRI ST'HA'NACA (or *abode of Fortune*), descended from JAMADAUNI; who-performs-due-rites-in-the-holy-stream; who-distinctly-knows-the-mysterious-branches (of the *Vēdas*), the domestick priest, the reader, SRĪ TICCAPAIYA, son of SRĪ CHCH'HINTAPAIYA the astronomer, for-the-purpose-of-sacrificing-causing-others-to-sacrifice-reading-causing-others-to-read-and-discharging-the-rest-of-the-fix-(Sacerdotal-) duties, of performing-the (daily service of) *Vais'wadeva* with offerings of rice, milk, and materials of sacrifice, and-of-completing-with-due-solemnity the sacrifice-of-fire-of doing-such-acts-as-must-continually-be-done, and such-as-must-occasionally-be-performed, of paying-due-honours to guests and strangers, and-of-supporting his-own-family, the village of *Chāvindara*-standing-at-the-extremity-of-the-territory of *Vatśarāja*, and the boundaries of which are, to the East the village of *Pūa-gambā*

gambà and a water-fall-from a mountain; to the South the villages of *Nágambá* and *Múládógaricà*; to the West the river *Sámbarapallicà*; to the North the villages of *Sámbivè* and *Cát'iyálaca*; and besides this the full (*district*) of *Tócabalà Pallicà*, the boundaries of which *are* to the East *Sídábali*; to the South the river *Mót'bala*; to the West *Cácdéva*, *Hallapallicà*, and *Bádaviraca*; to the North *Talávali Pallicà*; and also the Village of *Aulacýá*, the boundaries of which (are) to the East *Táddaga*; to the South *Góvini*; to the West *Charicà*, to the North *Calibálà-yachóli*: (that land) thus surveyed-on-the-four-quarters-and limited-to-its-proper-bounds, with-its-herbage-wood-and-water, and with-power-of-punishing-for-the-ten-crimes, except that before given as the portion of *Déva*, or of *Brahmà*, I have hereby released, and limited-by-the-duration-of-the-sun-the-moon-and-mountains, confirmed with-the-ceremony-of adoration, with a copious effusion of water and with the highest acts-of-worship; *and the same land* shall be enjoyed by his lineal-and-collateral-heirs, or caused-to-be-enjoyed, nor shall disturbance be given by any person whatever: since it is thus declared by great *Muni's*.

STANZAS.

1. The Earth is enjoyed by many kings, by SA'GAR, and by others: to whomsoever the soil at any time belongs, to him at that time belong the fruits of it.

2. A speedy gift is attended with no fatigue; a continued support, with great trouble: therefore, even the *Ríshi's* declare, that a continuance of support is better than a single gift.

3. "Exalted Emperors of good dispositions have given land, as RA'MA-BHADRA advises, again and again: this is the true bridge of justice for sovereigns: from time to time (O kings) that bridge must be repaired by you.

4. Those

1. Those possessions here below, which have been granted in former times by sovereigns, given for-the-sake-of-religion-increase-of-wealth-or-of-fame, are exactly equal to flowers, which have been offered to a Deity: what good man would resume *such gifts*?

Thus, confirming the precepts of ancient *Muni's*, all future kings must gather the fruit-of-observing-religious-duties; and let not the stain-of-the-crime-of-destroying-this-grant be borne henceforth by any-one: since, whatever *prince*, being supplicated, shall, through avarice, having-his-mind-wholly-surrounded-with-the-gloom-of-ignorance-contemptuously-dismiss-the-injured-suppliant, He, being guilty of five great and *five* small crimes, shall long in darkness inhabit *Raurava*, *Mahaurava*, *Andha*, *Tamisa*, and the other places of punishment. And thus it is declared by the divine VYA'SA:

STANZAS.

1. He, who seizes land, given-by-himself or by-another (sovereign), will rot among worms, himself a worm, in the midst of ordure.

2. They, who seize granted-land, are born again, living with great fear, in dry cavities of trees in the unwatered forests on the *Vindbian* (mountains).

3. By seizing one cow, one vesture, or even one nail's breadth of ground, a *king* continues in hell till an universal destruction of the world has happened.

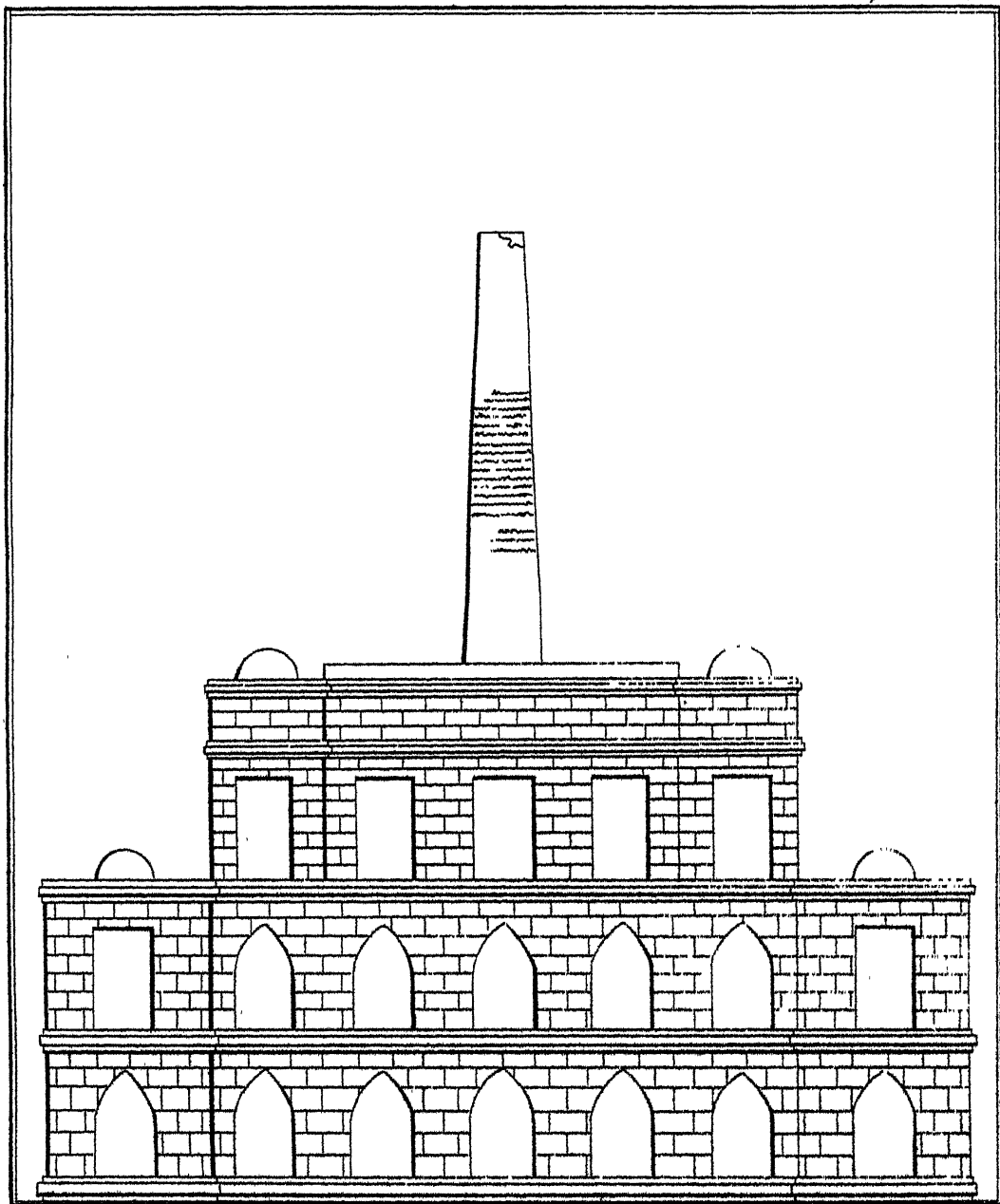
4. By (a gift of) a thousand gardens, and by (a gift of) a hundred pools of water, by (giving) a hundred *lac* of oxen, a disseisor of (granted) land is not cleared from offence.

5. A grantor of land remains in heaven sixty thousand years; a disfeisor, and he, who refuses to do justice, continues as many (years) in hell.

And, agreeably to this, in what is written by the hand of the Secretary, (the King) having ordered it, declares his own intention; as it is written by the command of me, fovereign of the great Circle, the fortunate ARICE'SARI DE'VARAJA, son of the Sovereign of the Great Circle, the Fortunate, invincible, DE'VARAJA.

And this is written, by order of the Fortunate King, by me JO-UBA, the brother's-son-of S'RI' NA'GALAIYA, -the great-Bard, -dwelling-in-the royal palace; engraved-on-plates-of-copper by VE'DAPAIYA's son MANA DHA'RA PAIYA. Thus (it ends).

Whatever herein (may be) defective in-one-syllable, or have-one-syllable-redundant, all that is (nevertheless) complete evidence (of the grant). Thus (ends the whole).



The Staff of FĪRŪZSHĀH.

INSCRIPTIONS

ON

THE STAFF OF FI'RU'Z SHAH.

TRANSLATED FROM THE SANSKRIT,

As explained by RA'DHA'CA'NTA SARMAN.

BY THE PRESIDENT.

ON a very singular monument near *Dehli*, an outline of which is here exhibited, and which the natives call the Staff of FI'RU'Z SHAH, are several old Inscriptions partly in ancient *Nāgarī* letters, and partly in a character yet unknown; and Lieutenant Colonel POLIER, having procured exact impressions of them, presents the Society with an accurate copy of all the inscriptions. Five of them are in *Sanskrit*, and, for the most part, intelligible; but it will require great attention and leisure to decypher the others: if the language be *Sanskrit*, the powers of the unknown letters may perhaps hereafter be discovered by the usual mode of decyphering; and that mode, carefully applied even at first, may lead to a discovery of the language. In the mean time a literal version of the legible inscriptions is laid before you: they are on the whole sufficiently clear, but the sense of one or two passages is at present inexplicable.

I.

The first, on the Southwest side of the pillar, is perfectly detached from

from the rest: it is about seventeen feet from the base, and two feet higher than the other inscriptions.

O'M.

In the year 1230, on the first day of the Bright half of the month *Vaiśāc'h* (a monument), of the Fortunate-VI'SALA-DE'VA-son of the-Fortunate-AMILLA DE'VA,-King-of-*Sācambbharī*.

II.

The next, which is engraved as a specimen of the character, consists of two stanzas in four lines; but each hemistich is imperfect at the end, the two first wanting *seven*, and the two last *five*, syllables: the word *Sācambbharī* in the former inscription enables us to supply the close of the *third* hemistich.

O'M.

As far as *Vindhya*, as far as *Himādri* (the mountain of Snow), he was not deficient in celebrity making *Aryāvarta* (the Land of Virtue, or *India*), even once more what its name signifies He having departed, PRATIVA'HAMA'NA TILACA (is) king of *Sācambbharī*: (*Sācam* only remains on the monument) by us (the region between) *Himavat* and *Vindhya* has been made tributary.

In the year from *Srī VICRAMA'DITYA* 123, in the Bright half of the month *Vaiśāc'h* at that time the *Rājaputra Srī SALLACA* was Prime Minister.

The second stanza, supplied partly from the last inscription, and partly by conjecture, will run thus:

*vrittē sa prativāhamāna tilacab s'ācambbharībhūpatib
asmābbib caradam vyadbhāyī bimawadvindhyātavimand'alam.*

The

२। आ विं धा दा हिमा इ विं अ नित विद्ध न ।
आ र्यो व नो य धा र्धं न च पि र्द्ध न वा ।
ब्राह्म सं प्र तिं चा ह मा न तिल कः शा कं
ऋष्मा क्तिः क च दं ग्रा धम पि रिम व द्विधा
सं व र्द्ध्नी वि ऋ गा दि य २२ वि शा म व अ वि
व अ म य म दा म दी वा न व च श्री म न व

The date 123 is here perfectly clear; at least it is clear, that only *three* figures are written, without even room for a cipher after them; whence we may guess, that the double circle in the former inscription was only an ornament, or the neutral termination *am*: if so, the date of *both* is the year of CHRIST *sixty-seven*; but, if the double circle be a Zero, the monument of VI'SALA DE'VA is as modern as the year 1174 or *nineteen* years before the conquest of *Dehli* by SHIHA'BU'DDIN.

III and IV.

The two next inscriptions were in the same words, but the stanzas, which in the fourth are extremely mutilated, are tolerably perfect in the third, wanting only a few syllables at the beginning of the hemistichs:

"

yab ebbivéthu prahartá nripatithu vinamatcandharéshu prasannah
 —vab s'ambi puríndrah jagatí vijayatè vífala ebbónipálah
 . . . da sájnaya ébha vijayè fantánajanátmajah
 . . punan ebhemállu bruvatamudyógas'únyaninanah

He, who is resentful to kings intoxicated with pride, indulgent to those, whose necks archum bled, an INDRA in the city of *Causámbi* (I suspect *Causámbi*, a city near *Hassimápur*, to be the true reading), *who* is victorious in the world, VI'SALA, sovereign of the earth: he gives . . . his commands being obeyed, he is a conqueror, the son of SANTA'NAJA'NA, whose mind, when his foes say, 'Let there be mercy,' is free from further hostility.

This inscription was engraved, in the presence of SR'I TILACA RA'JA, by SR'I PATI, the son of MA'HAVA, a *Gáyaś'ba*, of a family in *Gaud'a*, or *Bengal*.

V.

The fifth seems to be an elegy on the death of a king named VI-
 GRAHA,

GRAHA, who is represented as only flumbering: the last hemistich is hardly legible and very obscure; but the sense of both stanzas appears to be this.

O'M.

1. An offence to the eyes of (thy) enemy's consort (thou) by-whom-fortune-was-given-to-every suppliant, thy fame, joined to extensive dominion, shines, as we desire, before us: the heart of (thy) foes was vacant, even as a path in a desert, where men are hindered from passing, O fortunate VIGRAHA RA'JADE'VA, in the jubilee occasioned by thy march.

2. May thy abode, O VIGRAHA, sovereign of the world, be fixed, as in reason (it ought), in the bosoms, embellished with love's allurements and full of dignity, of the women with beautiful eyebrows, who were married to thy enemies! Whether thou art INDRA, or VISHNU, or SIVA, there is even no deciding: thy foes (are) fallen, like descending water; oh! why dost thou, through delusion, continue sleeping?

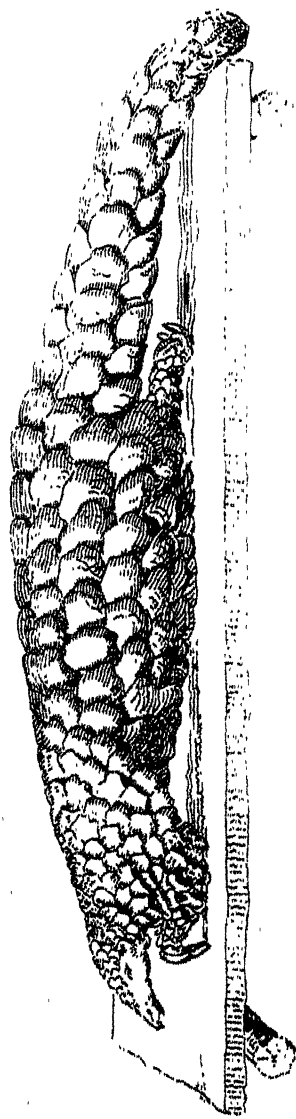
THE BAYA, OR INDIAN GROSS-BEAK.

Described by AT'HAR ALI' KHAN of Dehli.

TRANSLATED BY THE PRESIDENT.

THE little bird, called *Bayà* in *Hindî*, *Berbera* in *Sanscrit*, *Bâbîlî* in the dialect of *Bengal*, *Cibû* in *Persian*, and *Tenawwit* in *Arabick*, from his remarkably *pendent* nest, is rather larger than a sparrow, with yellow-brown plumage, a yellowish head and feet, a light-coloured breast, and a conick beak very thick in proportion to his body. This bird is exceedingly common in *Hindustàn*: he is astonishingly sensible, faithful, and docile, never voluntarily deserting the place where his young were hatched, but not averse, like most other birds, to the society of mankind, and easily taught to perch on the hand of his master. In a state of nature he generally builds his nest on the highest tree, that he can find, especially on the palmyra, or on the *Indian* fig-tree, and he prefers that, which happens to overhang a well or a rivulet: he makes it of grass, which he weaves like cloth and shapes like a large bottle, suspending it firmly on the branches, but so as to rock with the wind, and placing it with its entrance downwards to secure it from birds of prey. His nest usually consists of two or three chambers; and it is the popular belief, that he lights them with fire-flies, which he catches alive at night and confines with moist clay, or with cow-dung: that such flies are often found in

in his nest, where pieces of cow-dung are also stuck, is indubitable ; but, as their light could be of little use to him, it seems probable that he only feeds on them. He may be taught with ease to fetch a piece of paper, or any small thing, that his master points out to him : it is an attested fact, that, if a ring be dropped into a deep well, and a signal given to him, he will fly down with amazing celerity, catch the ring before it touches the water, and bring it up to his master with apparent exultation ; and it is confidently asserted, that, if a house or any other place be shown to him once or twice, he will carry a note thither immediately on a proper signal being made. One instance of his docility I can myself mention with confidence, having often been an eye witness of it : the young *Hindu* women at *Banúres* and in other places wear very thin plates of gold, called *tíca's*, slightly fixed by way of ornament between their eyebrows ; and, when they pass through the streets, it is not uncommon for the youthful libertines, who amuse themselves with training *Bayà's*, to give them a sign which they understand, and send them to pluck the pieces of gold from the foreheads of their mistresses, which they bring in triumph to the lovers. The *Bayà* feeds naturally on grass hoppers and other insects, but will subsist, when tame, on pulse macerated in water : his flesh is warm and drying, of easy digestion, and recommended, in medical books, as a solvent of stone in the bladder or kidneys ; but of that virtue there is no sufficient proof. The female lays many beautiful eggs resembling large pearls : the white of them, when they are boiled, is transparent, and the flavour of them is exquisitely delicate. When many *Bayàs* are assembled on a high tree, they make a lively din, but it is rather chirping than singing ; their want of musical talents is, however, amply supplied by their wonderful sagacity, in which they are not excelled by any feathered inhabitants of the forest.



The VAJRACITTA.

ON
THE PANGOLIN OF BAIAR.

Sent by MATTHEW LESLIE, *Esq.*

AND DESCRIBED BY THE PRESIDENT.

THE singular animal, which M. BUFFON describes by the name of *Pangolin*, is well known in *Europe* since the publication of his *Natural History* and GOLDSMITH's elegant abridgement of it; but, if the figure exhibited by BUFFON was accurately delineated from the three animals, the spoils of which he had examined, we must consider that, which has been lately brought from *Caraculab* to *Chitra*, and sent thence to the Presidency, as a remarkable variety, if not a different species, of the *Pangolin*: ours has hardly any neck, and, though some filaments are discernible between the scales, they can scarce be called bristles; but the principal difference is in the tail; that of BUFFON's animal being long, and tapering almost to a point, while that of ours is much shorter, ends obtusely, and resembles in form and flexibility the tail of a lobster. In other respects, as far as we can judge from the dead subject, it has all the characters of BUFFON's *Pangolin*; a name derived from that, by which the animal is distinguished in *Java*, and consequently preferable to *Manis* or *Pholidotus*, or any other appellation deduced from an *European* language. As to the *scaly lizard*, the *scaled Armadillo*, and the *five-nailed Ant-eater*, they are manifestly improper designations of this animal; which is neither a *lizard*, nor an *armadillo* in the common acceptation; and, though it be

an *ant-eater*, yet it essentially differs from the *hairy* quadruped usually known by that general description. We are told, that the *Mahabar* name of this animal is *Alungu*: the natives of *Bahar* call it *Rejar-ct*, or, as they explain the word, *Stone-vermine*; and, in the stomach of the animal before us, was found about a teacupful of small *stones*, which had probably been swallowed for the purpose of facilitating digestion; but the name alludes, I believe, to the *hardness* of the scales; for *Vajracit'a* means in *Sanfrit* the *Diamond*, or *Thunderbolt*, *reptile*, and *Vajra* is a common figure in the *Indian* poetry for any thing excessively *hard*. The *Vajracit'a* is believed by the *Pandits* to be the animal, which gnaws their *sacred stone*, called *Sálgrámas'ilá*; but the *Pangolin* has apparently no teeth, and the *Sálgráms*, many of which look as if they had been worm-eaten, are perhaps only decayed in part by exposure to the air.

This animal had a long tongue shaped like that of a *cameleon*; and, if it was nearly adult, as we may conclude from the young one found in it, the dimensions of it were much less than those, which *BUFFON* assigns *generally* to his *Pangolin*; for he describes its length as six, seven, or eight feet including the tail, which is almost, he says, as long as the body, when it has attained its full growth; whereas ours is but thirty-four inches long from the extremity of the tail to the point of the snout, and the length of the tail is fourteen inches; but, exclusively of the head, which is five inches long, the tail and body are, indeed, nearly of the same length; and the small difference between them may show, if *BUFFON* be correct in this point, that the animal was young: the circumference of its body in the thickest part is twenty inches, and that of the tail, only twelve.

We cannot venture to say more of this extraordinary creature, which seems to constitute the first step from the quadruped to the reptile, until we have examined it alive, and observed its different instincts; but, as we
are

are assured, that it is common in the country round *Kbánpùr*, and at *Chétigáw*, where the native *Muselmans* call it the *Land-carp*, we shall possibly be able to give on some future occasion a fuller account of it. There are in our *Indian* provinces many animals, and many hundreds of medicinal plants, which have either not been described at all, or, what is worse, ill described by the naturalists of *Europe*; and to procure perfect descriptions of them from actual examination, with accounts of their several *uses* in medicine, diet, or manufactures, appears to be one of the most important objects of our institution.

ON

THE LORIS,

OR

SLOWPACED LEMUR.

BY THE PRESIDENT.

THE singular animal, which most of you saw alive, and of which I now lay before you a perfectly accurate figure, has been very correctly described by LINNÆUS; except that *sickled* would have been a juster epithet than *awled* for the *bent claws* on its hinder indices, and that *the size of a squirrel* seems an improper, because a variable, measure: its configuration and colours are particularized also with great accuracy by M. DAUBENTON; but the short account of the *Loris* by M. DE BUFFON appears unsatisfactory, and his engraved representation of it has little resemblance to nature; so little that, when I was endeavouring to find in his work a description of the quadrumane, which had just been sent me from *Dacca*, I passed over the chapter on the *Loris*, and ascertained it merely by seeing in a note the *Linnean* character of the slowpaced *Lemur*. The illustrious *French* naturalist, whom, even when we criticize a few parts of his noble work, we cannot but name with admiration, observes of the *Loris*, that, *from the proportion of its body and limbs, one would not suppose it slow in walking or leaping*, and intimates an opinion, that



that SEBA gave this animal the epithet of *slowmoving*, from some fancied likeness to the sloth of *America*: but, though its body be remarkably long in proportion to the breadth of it, and the hinder legs, or more properly arms, much longer than those before, yet the *Loris*, in fact, walks or climbs very slowly, and is, probably, unable to leap. Neither its genus nor species, we find, are new: yet, as its temper and instincts are undescribed, and as the *Natural History* by M. DE BUFFON, or the *System of Nature* by LINNÆUS, cannot always be readily procured, I have set down a few remarks on the *form*, the *manners*, the *name*, and the *country* of my little favourite, who engaged my affection, while he lived, and whose memory I wish to perpetuate.

I. This male animal had four hands, each five-fingered; palms, naked; nails, round; except those of the indices behind, which were long, curved, pointed; hair, very thick, especially on the haunches, extremely soft, mostly dark grey, varied above with brown and a tinge of russet; darker on the back, paler about the face and under the throat, reddish towards the rump; no tail, a dorsal stripe, broad, chestnut-coloured, narrower towards the neck; a head, almost spherical: a countenance, expressive and interesting; eyes, round, large, approximated, weak in the day time, glowing and animated at night; a white vertical stripe between them; eye-lashes, black, short; ears, dark, rounded, concave; great acuteness at night both in seeing and hearing; a face, hairy, flattish; a nose, pointed, not much elongated; the upper lip, cleft; canine teeth, comparatively long, very sharp.

More than this I could not observe on the living animal; and he died at a season, when I could neither attend a dissection of his body, nor with propriety request any of my medical friends to perform such an operation during the heats of *August*; but I opened his jaw and counted only two incisors above and as many below, which might have been a

defect, in the individual; and it is mentioned simply as a fact without any intention to censure the generick arrangement of LINNÆUS.

II. In his manners he was for the most part gentle, except in the cold season, when his temper seemed wholly changed; and his creator, who made him so sensible of cold, to which he must often have been exposed even in his native forests, gave him, probably, for that reason his thick fur, which we rarely see on animals in these tropical climates: to me, who not only constantly fed him, but bathed him twice a week in water accommodated to the seasons, and whom he clearly distinguished from others, he was at all times grateful; but, when I disturbed him in winter, he was usually indignant, and seemed to reproach me with the uneasiness which he felt, though no possible precautions had been omitted to keep him in a proper degree of warmth. At all times he was pleased with being stroked on the head and throat, and frequently suffered me to touch his extremely sharp teeth; but at all times his temper was quick, and, when he was unseasonably disturbed, he expressed a little resentment by an obscure murmur, like that of a squirrel, or a greater degree of displeasure by a peevish cry, especially in winter, when he was often as fierce, on being much importuned, as any beast of the woods. From half an hour after sunrise to half an hour before sunset, he slept without intermission rolled up like a hedge-hog; and as soon as he awoke, he began to prepare himself for the labours of *his* approaching day, licking and dressing himself like a cat; an operation, which the flexibility of his neck and limbs enabled him to perform very completely: he was then ready for a slight breakfast, after which he commonly took a short nap; but, when the sun was quite set, he recovered all his vivacity. His ordinary food was the sweet fruit of this country; plantains always, and mangos during the season; but he refused peaches, and was not fond of mulberries, or even of guaiavas: milk he lapped eagerly, but was contented with plain water. In general he was not voracious, but never appeared

appeared fatiated with grasshoppers; and passed the whole night, while the hot season lasted, in prowling for them: when a grasshopper, or any insect, alighted within his reach, his eyes, which he fixed on his prey, glowed with uncommon fire; and, having drawn himself back to spring on it with greater force, he seized the victim with both his forepaws, but held it in one of them, while he devoured it. For other purposes, and sometimes even for that of holding his food, he used all his paws indifferently as hands, and frequently grasped with one of them the higher part of his ample cage, while his three others were severally engaged at the bottom of it; but the posture, of which he seemed fondest, was to cling with all four of them to the upper wires, his body being inverted; and in the evening he usually stood erect for many minutes playing on the wires with his fingers and rapidly moving his body from side to side, as if he had found the utility of exercise in his unnatural state of confinement. A little before day break, when my early hours gave me frequent opportunities of observing him, he seemed to solicit my attention; and, if I presented my finger to him, he licked or nibbled it with great gentleness, but eagerly took fruit, when I offered it; though he seldom ate much at his morning repast: when the *day brought back the night*, his eyes lost their lustre and strength, and he composed himself for a slumber of ten or eleven hours.

III. The names *Loris* and *Lemur* will, no doubt, be continued by the respective disciples of BUFFON and LINNÆUS; nor can I suggest any other, since the *Pandits* know little or nothing of the animal: the lower *Hindus* of this province generally call it *Lajjābānar*, or the Bashful Ape, and the *Muselmans*, retaining the sense of the epithet, give it the absurd appellation of a cat; but it is neither a cat nor bashful; for, though a *Pandit*, who saw my *Lemur* by day light, remarked that he was *Lajjālu* or *mudēt* (a word which the *Hindus* apply to all *Sensitive Plants*); yet he only seemed bashful, while in fact he was dim sighted and drowsy; for

at night, as you perceive by his figure, he had open eyes, and as much boldness as any of the *Lemures* poetical or *Linnean*.

IV. As to his country, the first of the species, that I saw in *India*, was in the district of *Tipra*, properly *Tripura*, whither it had been brought, like mine, from the *Garrow* mountains; and Dr. ANDERSON informs me, that it is found in the woods on the coast of *Coromandel*: another had been sent to a member of our society from one of the eastern isles; and, though the *Loris* may be also a native of *Silán*, yet I cannot agree with M. DE BUFFON, that it is the minute, sociable, and docile animal mentioned by THEVENOT, which it resembles neither in size nor in disposition.

My little friend was, on the whole, very engaging; and, when he was found lifeless, in the same posture in which he would naturally have slept, I consoled myself with believing, that he had died without pain, and lived with as much pleasure as he could have enjoyed in a state of captivity.

ON

THE CURE OF THE ELEPHANTIASIS.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

BY THE PRESIDENT.

AMONG the afflicting maladies, which punish the vices and try the virtues of mankind, there are few disorders, of which the consequences are more dreadful or the remedy in general more desperate than the *jadhām* of the *Arabs* or *khórah* of the *Indians*: it is also called in *Arabia* *dául'áful*, a name corresponding with the *Leontiasis* of the *Greeks*, and supposed to have been given in allusion to the grim distracted and *lionlike* countenances of the miserable persons, who are affected with it. The more common name of the distemper is *Elephantiasis*, or, as *Lucretius* calls it, *Elephas*, because it renders the skin, like that of an *Elephant*, uneven and wrinkled, with many tubercles and furrows; but this complaint must not be confounded with the *dául'fil*, or *swelled legs*, described by the *Arabian* physicians, and very common in this country. It has no fixed name in *English*, though *Hillary*, in his *Observations on the Diseases of Barbadoes*, calls it the *Leprosy of the joints*, because it principally affects the extremities, which in the last stage of the malady are distorted and at length drop off; but, since it is in truth a distemper corrupting the whole mass of blood, and therefore considered by *Paul* of *Ægina* as an *universal ulcer*, it requires a more general appellation, and may properly be named the *Black Leprosy*; which term is in fact adopted by

M. BOIS-

M. BOISSIEU de SAUVAGES and GORRÆUS, in contradistinction to the *White Leprosy*, or the *Beres* of the *Arabs* and *Leuce* of the *Greeks*.

This disease, by whatever name we distinguish it, is peculiar to hot climates, and has rarely appeared in *Europe*: the philosophical Poet of *Rome* supposes it confined to *the banks of the Nile*; and it has certainly been imported from *Africa* into the *West-India* Islands by the black slaves, who carried with them their resentment and their revenge; but it has been long known in *Hindustan*, and the writer of the following Dissertation, whose father was Physician to NA'DIRSHA'H and accompanied him from *Persia* to *Dehli*, assures me that it rages with virulence among the native inhabitants of *Calcutta*. His observation, that it is frequently a consequence of the *venereal infection*, would lead us to believe, that it might be radically cured by *Mercury*; which has, nevertheless, been found ineffectual, and even hurtful, as HILLARY reports, in the *West-Indies*. The juice of *hemlock*, suggested by the learned MICHAELIS, and approved by his medical friend ROEDERER, might be very efficacious at the beginning of the disorder, or in the milder sorts of it; but, in the case of a malignant and inveterate *jadbûm*, we must either administer a remedy of the highest power, or, agreeably to the desponding opinion of CELSUS, *leave the patient to his fate, instead of teasing him with fruitless medicines*, and suffer him, in the forcible words of ARETÆUS, *to sink from inextricable slumber into death*. The life of a man is, however, so dear to him by nature, and in general so valuable to society, that we should never despond, while a spark of it remains; and, whatever apprehensions may be formed of future danger from the distant effects of *arsenick*, even though it should eradicate a present malady, yet, as no such inconvenience has arisen from the use of it in *India*, and, as Experience must ever prevail over Theory, I cannot help wishing, that this ancient *Hindu* medicine may be fully tried under the inspection of our *European* Surgeons, whose minute accuracy and steady attention

don must always give them a claim to superiority over the most learned natives; but many of our countrymen have assured me, that they by no means entertain a contemptuous opinion of the native medicines, especially in diseases of the skin. Should it be thought, that the mixture of sulphur must render the poison less active, it may be advisable at first to administer orpiment, instead of the *crystalline arsenick*.

ON
THE CURE OF THE ELEPHANTIASIS,

AND
OTHER DISORDERS OF THE BLOOD.

TRANSLATED BY THE PRESIDENT.

God is the all-powerful Healer.

IN the year of the MESSIAH 1783, when the worthy and respectable *Mahleri* MİR MUHAMMED HUSAI'N, who excels in every branch of useful knowledge, accompanied Mr. RICHARD JOHNSON from *Lac'hnau* to *Calcutta*, he visited the humble writer of this tract, who had long been attached to him with sincere affection; and, in the course of their conversation, ' One of the fruits of my late excursion, said he, is a present for you, which suits your profession, and will be generally useful to our species: conceiving you to be worthy of it by reason of your assiduity in medical inquiries, I have brought you a prescription, the ingredients of which are easily found, but not easily equalled as a powerful remedy against all corruptions of the blood, the *jadhām*, and the *Persian* fire, the remains of which are a source of infinite maladies. It is an old secret of the *Hindu* Physicians; who applied it also to the cure of cold and moist distempers, as the palsy, distortions of the face, relaxation of the nerves, and similar diseases: its efficacy too has been proved by long experience; and this is the method of preparing it.

‘ Take of white *arsenick*, fine and fresh, one *tôlà*; of picked black pepper six times as much : let both be well beaten at intervals for four days successively in an iron mortar, and then reduced to an impalpable powder in one of stone with a stone pestle, and thus completely levigated, a little water being mixed with them. Make pills of them as large as tares or small pulse, and keep them dry in a shady place*.

‘ One of those pills must be swallowed morning and evening with some *betel*-leaf, or, in countries where *betel* is not at hand, with cold

* The lowest weight in general use among the *Hindus* is the *reti*, called in *Sanscrit* either *retticà* or *rañicà*, indicating *redness*, and *crishnalà* from *crishna*, *black* : it is the red and black seed of the *gunjà*-plant (1), which is a creeper of the same class and order at least with the *glycyrrhiza* ; but I take this from report, having never examined its blossoms. One *rañicà* is said to be of equal weight with three barley-corns or four grains of rice in the husk ; and eight *reti*-weights, used by jewellers, are equal to seven carats. I have weighed a number of the seeds in diamond-scales, and find the average Apothecary’s weight of one seed to be a grain and five-sixteenths. Now in the *Hindu* medical books ten of the *rañicà*-seeds are one *māshacà*, and eight *māshacà*’s, make a *tōlacà* or *tôlà* ; but in the law-books of *Bengal* a *māshacà* consists of sixteen *rañicà*’s, and a *tōlacà* of five *māshà*’s ; and, according to some authorities, five *reti*’s only go to one *māshà*, sixteen of which make a *tōlacà*. We may observe, that the silver *reti*-weights, used by the goldsmiths at *Banàres*, are twice as heavy as the seeds ; and thence it is, that eight *reti*’s are commonly said to constitute one *māshà*, that is, eight silver weights, or sixteen seeds ; eighty of which seeds, or 105 grains, constitute the quantity of arsenick in the *Hindu* prescription.

(1) The *gunjà*, I find, is the *Abus* of our botanists, and I venture to describe it from the wild plant compared with a beautiful drawing of the flower magnified, with which I was favoured by Dr. ANDERSON.

CLASS XVII. Order IV.

CAL. *Perianth* funnel-shaped, indented above.

COR. Cymbiform. *Awning* roundish, pointed, nerved.

Wings, lanced, shorter than the awning.

Keel, rather longer than the wings.

STAM. *Filaments* nine, some shorter ; united in two sets at the top of a divided, bent, awl-shaped body.

PIST. *Germ* inserted in the calyx. *Style* very minute at the bottom of the divided body. *Stigma*, o the naked eye, obtuse ; in the microscope, feathered.

PER. A legume. *Seeds*, spheroidal ; black, or white, or scarlet with black tips.

LEAVES, pinnated ; some with, some without, an odd leaflet.

* water :

‘ water : if the body be cleansed from foulness and obstructions by gentle
 ‘ catharticks and bleeding, before the medicine is administered, the re-
 ‘ medy will be speedier.’

The principal ingredient of this medicine is the *arsenick*, which the *Arabs* call *Sbucc*, the *Persians* *mergi mûsh*, or *moujè-bane*, and the *Indians*, *lanc'hyd*; a mineral substance ponderous and *crystalline* : the *orpi-ment*, or *yellow arsenick*, is the weaker sort. It is a deadly poison, and so subtil, that, when mice are killed by it, the very smell of the dead will destroy the living of that species : after it has been kept about seven years, it loses much of its force ; its colour becomes turbid ; and its weight is diminished. This mineral is hot and dry in the fourth degree : it causes suppuration, dissolves or unites, according to the quantity given ; and is very useful in closing the lips of wounds, when the pain is too intense to be borne. An unguent made of it with oils of any sort is an effectual remedy for some cutaneous disorders, and, mixed with rose-water, it is good for cold tumours and for the dropfy ; but it must never be administered without the greatest caution ; for such is its power, that the smallest quantity of it in powder, drawn, like *alcohol*, between the eyelashes, would in a single day entirely corrode the coats and humours of the eye ; and fourteen *reli's* of it would in the same time destroy life. The best antidote against its effects are the scrapings of leather reduced to ashes : if the quantity of arsenick taken be accurately known, four times as much of those ashes, mixed with water and drunk by the patient, will sweat and counteract the poison.

The writer, conformably to the directions of his learned friend, prepared the medicine ; and, in the same year, gave it to numbers, who were reduced by the diseases above mentioned to the point of death : God is his witness, that they grew better from day to day, were at last completely cured, and are now living (except one or two, who died of
 other

other disorders) to attest the truth of this assertion. One of his first patients was a *Pársi*, named MENU'CHEHR, who had come from *Surat* to this city, and had fixed his abode near the writer's house: he was so cruelly afflicted with a confirmed lues, here called *the Persian Fire*, that his hands and feet were entirely ulcerated and almost corroded, so that he became an object of disgust and abhorrence. This man consulted the writer on his case, the state of which he disclosed without reserve. Some blood was taken from him on the same day, and a cathartick administered on the next. On the third day he began to take the *arsenick-pills*, and, by the blessing of GOD, the virulence of his disorder abated by degrees, until signs of returning health appeared; in a fortnight his recovery was complete, and he was bathed, according to the practice of our Physicians: he seemed to have no virus left in his blood, and none has been since perceived by him.

But the power of this medicine has chiefly been tried in the cure of the *juzám*, as the word is pronounced in *India*; a disorder infecting the whole mass of blood, and thence called by some *fistúli kblm*. The former name is derived from an *Arabick* root signifying, in general, *amputation, maiming, excision*, and, particularly, the *truncation or erosion of the fingers*, which happens in the last stage of the disease. It is extremely contagious, and, for that reason, the Prophet said: *ferrú mina'lmejdhú-mi camá teferrú mina'l áfad*, or, 'Flee from a person afflicted with the *'judbám*, as you would flee from a lion.' The author of the *Rabbru'ljawábir*, or *Sea of Pearls*, ranks it as an infectious malady with the *measles*, the *small-pox*, and the *plague*. It is also *hereditary*, and, in that respect, classed by medical writers with the *gout*, the *consumption*, and the *white leprosy*.

A common cause of this distemper is the unwholesome diet of the natives, many of whom are accustomed, after eating a quantity of *fish*, to
swallow

swallow copious draughts of *milk*, which fail not to cause an accumulation of yellow and black bile, which mingles itself with the blood and corrupts it: but it has other causes; for a *Bráhmén*, who had never tasted *fish* in his life, applied lately to the composer of this essay, and appeared in the highest degree affected by a corruption of blood; which he might have inherited, or acquired by other means. Those, whose religion permits them to eat *beef*, are often exposed to the danger of heating their blood intensely through the knavery of the butchers in the *Bekár*, who fatten their calves with *Baldwer*; and those, who are so ill-advised as to take *provocatives*, a folly extremely common in *India*, at first are insensible of the mischief, but, as soon as the increased moisture is dispersed, find their whole mass of blood inflamed and, as it were, adust; whence arises the disorder, of which we now are treating. The *Perian*, or venereal, fire generally ends in this malady; as one DE'VI PRASÁD, lately in the service of Mr. VANSITTART, and some others, have convinced me by an unreserved account of their several cases.

It may here be worth while to report a remarkable case, which was related to me by a man, who had been afflicted with the *juzám* near four years; before which time he had been disordered with the *Persian* fire, and, having closed an ulcer by the means of a strong healing plaister, was attacked by a violent pain in his joints: on this he applied to a *Cabirdja*, or *Hindu* Physician, who gave him some pills, with a positive assurance, that the use of them would remove his pain in a few days; and in a few days it was, in fact, wholly removed; but, a very short time after, the symptoms of the *juzám* appeared, which continually encreased to such a degree, that his fingers and toes were on the point of dropping off. It was afterwards discovered, that the pills, which he had taken, were made of cinnabar, a common preparation of the *Hindus*; the heat of which had first stirred the humours, which, on stopping the external discharge, had

fallen

fallen on the joints, and then had occasioned a quantity of aduft bile to mix itfelf with the blood and infect the whole mafs.

Of this dreadful complaint, however caufed, the firft fymptoms are a numbnefs and rednefs of the whole body, and principally of the face, an impeded hoarfe voice, thin hair and even baldnefs, offensive perfpiration and breath, and whitlows on the nails. The cure is beft begun with copious bleeding, and cooling drink, fuch as a decoction of the *nilúfer*, or *Nymphea*, and of violets, with fome dofes of manna: after which ftronger catharticks muft be adminiftered. But no remedy has proved fo efficacious as the pills compofed of arfenick and pepper: one inftance of their effect may here be mentioned, and many more may be added, if required.

In the month of *February* in the year juft mentioned, one *Shaikh RAMAZA'NI'*, who then was an upper-fervant to the Board of Revenue, had fo corrupt a mafs of blood, that a black leprofy of his joints was approaching; and moft of his limbs began to be ulcerated: in this condition he applied to the writer, and requested immediate affiftance. Though the difordered ftate of his blood was evident on infpection, and required no particular declaration of it, yet many queftions were put to him, and it was clear from his answers, that he had a confirmed *juzám*: he then loft a great deal of blood, and, after due preparation, took the arfenick-pills. After the firft week his malady feemed alleviated; in the fecond it was confiderably diminished, and, in the third, fo entirely removed, that the patient went into the bath of health, as a token that he no longer needed a phyfician.